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SPEECH OF HON. HENRY R. JACKSON
OF SAVANNAH, GEORGIA

# THE WANDERER CASE

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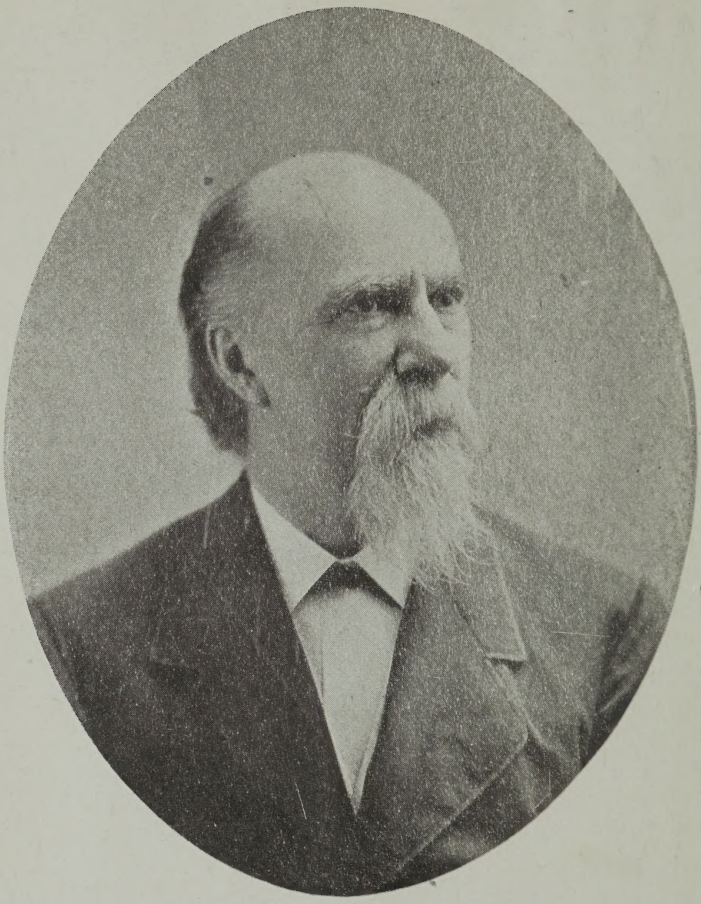

GENERAL HENRY ROOTES JACKSON.

# THE

# WANDERER CASE;

## THE SPEECH OF

## HON. HENRY R. JACKSON

## OF SAVANNAH, GA.

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INTRODUCTION BY BILL ARP.

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BIOGRAPHY OF GENERAL JACKSON BY JOSEPH M. BROWN, ESQR.

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APPENDIX.

SPEECH OF DANIEL WEBSTER AT CAPON SPRINGS, VIRGINIA, JUNE, 1851.

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# INTRODUCTION.

BY "BILL ARP."

Quite a number of good people have responded to my inquiry for General Jackson's address on the Wanderer. It is gratifying to know that so many were impressed by it and preserved it for reference or for their children. The true history of Southern slavery was known before the war to the old men who owned slaves, and to them only; and as they constituted only one-seventh (1-7) of the voting population, the other six-sevenths (6-7) knew but little and cared less. This history passed almost into oblivion with the passing away of slavery. It is indeed amazing that out of every hundred soldiers who volunteered to defend our cause, eighty-five of them had no interest in the negro, and would not have put their own lives in peril to perpetuate slavery. The proportion of non-slaveholding privates was indeed much greater, for but few of them were made officers, and I know of one company of eighty-five good men from Murray county, without a slave-holder among the privates. It was enough for them to know that our great men, our statesmen and leaders, declared and believed that the Republican party had violated the constitution and the laws, and defied the decision of the Supreme Court and proclaimed a higher law. That their leaders had armed, aided and abetted John Brown to raise an insurrection in Virginia among the slaves and incite them to nameless and outrageous crimes, and so these good and true men volunteered and fought just as our forefathers fought who resisted a little tax on tea when not one in a thousand drank it. They fought for principle and not for plunder.

It was opportune then, that General Jackson should declare to this generation the truth about the war and what caused it, and who was responsible for the institution of slavery. He did this in a way that can not be controverted, and his great argument should be like a classic in every household.

No, there was no sin in slavery as a patriarchal institution. The sin was in the mode of bringing them here from Africa and afterwards in their hard treatment by some cruel masters—and still later by setting them free without condition, and so continuing a slavery in the chain-gang that is infinitely worse than they or their fathers ever endured before freedom came. The children of those Northern fanatics are still under the delusion that slavery was born and bred at the South, and that the sin is upon us. They do not believe that, as Judge Story said upon the bench, "Their fathers were steeped up to their eye-brows in the infamy of the slave trade"—a trade they could not carry on with money, but had to carry over cargoes of New England rum, one barrel of which would buy a dozen negroes, and a hundred barrels a thousand.

The saints of New England sold these slaves to our forefathers as long as they would buy them, and then sought other markets in South America and began war upon us for keeping them in bondage. They are like the liquor dealer in Nashville who become converted and sold out his stock to another man, and then tried to have him turned out of the church for selling whiskey.

Slavery is no new sin, if a sin at all. It dates back to Abraham and has come down though the nations. England did not free her slaves until 1845, and even then, there was an exception made that lasted till near the close of that century, for the colliers and salters (those who worked in the coal and salt mines) were still held for life, and if the

mine was sold the colliers and salters went with it to the purchaser. That was slavery indeed. This reminds me of the contrast between our slavery and theirs. Away back in the 40's when Col. Farish Carter was farming on the Coosawattee river in Gordon county, he had over two hundred slaves working for him. They were all contented and happy—every family had a neat cottage with room enough for all. To every cottage was attached a liberal piece of ground for a garden, besides ground for chickens and ducks and a sow and pigs. The cabins were all whitewashed and had brick chimneys. Ample time was given for washing their clothes, and every negro old enough to understand, had to attend church on the Sabbath. He employed a white minister by the year, and besides preaching this minister had to give them instruction in the Bible and its commandments. These negroes were devoted to their master and his family, and never was a fine trout caught in the river by night or a possum in the woods, but what it was their pride and pleasure to take it to "old master." In that case, slavery was a patriarchal institution, and when the old Colonel died the chief of his slaves were his pallbearers, and all the rest mourned him as their best friend.

# PREFACE.

## "THE CONSTITUTION AND SLAVERY."

The Constitution recognized property in slaves and provided for the return of runaway slaves to their masters. As a compromise between the New England merchants and the planters of South Carolina and Georgia in return for certain commercial favors allowed the former, the African slave trade was not to be interfered with by the government of the United States until 1808.

### ABOLITION OF AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE.

But long before the end of the time allowed for the continuance of this trade most of the States had passed laws against it. Virginia was the first of all the States to forbid it. Georgia followed and put a clause into her State Constitution forbidding the bringing of slaves into Georgia from Africa or any other foreign country. This was in 1798, ten years before the expiration of the time allowed by the Constitution of the United States for the continuance of the African slave trade. When the year 1808 came Congress abolished this trade; New England seamen engaged in it to the very last ("Extract from the Story of the Confederate States.")

In June, 1851, at Capon Springs, Va., Daniel Webster said in his last and greatest speech that if the Northern States continued to aid in the escape of fugitive slaves and Congress provided no remedy, then the compact was broken and the South was no longer bound by it. He died in 1852, and up to 1858 the abolition societies boasted they had effected the escape of thirty thousand slaves, and eight of the Northern States had declared that part of the Consti-

tution null and void and refused to execute it. Then, according to Webster, the contract was broken, for Congress provided no remedy. Slavery is no longer a mooted question. It is dead, and like all dead things, its destiny is fixed forever. But the facts of history still live.

General Jackson, in his speech, hews to the line.

E. H.

# BIOGRAPHY OF GENERAL JACKSON.

BY JOS. M. BROWN.

General Henry R. Jackson, the poet, the patriot, the warrior, the diplomat, the advocate, the jurist, the friend loyal unto death! What adjectives could add force to those words which, like granite pillars, uphold, or like fragrant flowers, cluster around that name which called forth equally the admiration and the love of the Georgians of his own generation, and is an inspiration awaiting the youth as yet unborn. Possessing the traits or attainments we have named, he excelled in them all; and whether on the field of martial strife, in the forum of forensic disputation, or in the council chamber wherein the astute minds of rival nations commingled craft with eloquence, he ever illustrated Georgia and the sisterhood of States among whom the genius of her sons has failed not in holding her as a leader.

Henry Rootes Jackson, the son of Dr. Henry Jackson, and Martha J. Jackson, daughter of Judge Rootes of Fredericksburg, Va., but the widow of Captain Howell Cobb, of the United State Army, was born in Athens, Georgia, June 24, 1820.

Receiving a classical education, he chose for his occupation in life the law, and, with energy inherent and ever characteristic of him, threw himself into the practice.

But from these active, though peaceful, pursuits he felt called to maintain the rights of his country upon the battle-field, when the United States, in 1847, became involved in war with Mexico, as the result of the annexation of Texas.

In the campaign, which was a succession of victories, cul-

minating in the capture of the capital city of the enemy, the subject of our sketch was colonel of the 1st Georgia Regiment, whose record for valorous achievement was the pride of the State.

Returning with well-earned laurels, he was elected Judge of Chatham Superior Court, and administered justice from its honored bench from 1849 to 1853, within which latter year he was appointed by the President of the United States to the position of minister to Austria.

As our diplomat to this most cultured court in Europe he served until within the year 1858, winning the plaudits of the administration for the alertness and tact which distinguished his work with the most adroit statesmen of Europe.

Shortly after he arrived again in America he accepted the position of Assistant Attorney-General of the United States. While in this office the slave-ship *Wanderer,* built and officered by citizens of New England, ran into a southern port with a cargo of slaves from Africa. This being a violation of the laws of the United States, Colonel Jackson was named by Attorney-General Jeremiah S. Black to prosecute the offenders. His speech herewith shows how, in performing that duty, he convicted New England of abetting and pursuing the slave-trade during the very years when she was vituperatively maligning the South for maintaining slavery; yes ,up to, we may say, the very hour when her guns began firing upon the South on the issue as to whether the North had the right to violate the Constitution of the United States in order to abolish slavery.

The crisis of separation being on, even before Georgia formally seceded, Col. Jackson, empowered by Governor Brown to act for the sovereign State, at daylight, January 3, 1861, seized Fort Pulaski. Thus these two men, between whom, till death parted them, existed a friendship which

earth has scarcely seen equalled, might well with conjoined voices have paraphrased another patriot's words by saying: "Technically, this is treason; but, granting it to be treason, make the most of it!"

The war coming on, Colonel Jackson became an immediate and vigorous power in defence of the rights of his State, rising to the rank of Brigadier-General in the army of the Confederate States. Of his many deeds of heroism and martial skill during these fateful four years, our limited space will permit us not to enter into detail. Suffice it to say that whenever and wherever duty called, whether in rain or shine, whether in the council tent, on the weary march, or amid the clouds and thunder and carnage of battle, he was ever to be found, an inspiration to his men, an example to the youth of future days who, in the love and fear of God, of home, of country, would do and dare.

After the war he returned to Savannah, where he found that his residence had been despoiled by the officers of the invading army of the rare treasures of art and literature which for years it had been the delight of his cultured mind to collect. And within the parlor of this home, a winter later, transpired a scene pathetic in its sidelights and pregnant with fate for Georgia.

Ex-Governor, Joseph E. Brown, between whom and General Jackson, as we have indicated, existed an affection which seemed born of God Himself, came to Savannah to consult this supreme friend before publishing his memorable letter in which he advised his fellow citizens to accept without contest the conditions prescribed by Congress under which the State could be readmitted to the Union. The base of these conditions, it is well known, was negro suffrage. Said Governor Brown: "If we could not successfully resist the North when we had a half million bayonets in the field, how can we resist it when we have not one.

Let us therefore accept the situation and make the best of it."

His desire was to relieve the State from its then status of a military satrapy, well knowing that once back in the Union, the peer of Massachusetts or Pennsylvania, the superior numbers and genius of the white population would enable them to easily dominate its affairs.

General Jackson on two occasions described to this writer the scene in question. Said he: "After supper, sitting with me in my parlor, he read the letter which he proposed to publish, and, in fact, did publish. After he had finished the reading he asked my candid judgment in the matter. To this I replied:

" 'I do not question your conclusions, Governor; but can probably sum up my views in the statement that if in the present state of popular opinion you give forth that letter, it had better be with the determination that you will co-ordinately dismiss from your mind any ambition which you may have as to your future in Georgia.'

"For some moments after I had spoken, as Governor Brown looked across the table at me, although it was a cold night in winter, yet, in the lamplight I could see the perspiration oozing from his brow. Then, with voice which, at first quivering, betrayed the agony of the ordeal through which his soul was passing, he said to me:

" 'My ambition perished with the Confederacy. The highest desire now in my heart is that I may save my people and their civilization.

" 'General Jackson, the people of Georgia have been very kind to me. They took me up when I was a poor mountain boy, and aided me. They elected me to successive positions of trust until they made me their governor, and honored me with three re-elections. They have, therefore, the right

to demand that I be honest with them in such counsel as I am capacitated to give them.

" 'What you say as to the reception this letter will meet is undoubtedly true; but my judgment is clear, that even though this tempest of adverse criticism prevail during the remainder of my days, yet posterity, at least, will vindicate the purity of my motives and the soundness of my advice.' "

The letter was published and the prediction of each of these eminent Georgians was fulfilled. The tempest came and raged; but the sun of reason at length dispelled the dark clouds by its beams, and waiting not for posterity's pen to write the vindication, the white people of Georgia declared that that "ambition which perished with the Confederacy" should phœnix-like be revived, and elected Joseph E. Brown as their United States Senator.

And peculiarly happy was the fact that, while he was addressing the members of the Legislature the night before that election, a lengthy telegram was received, and read, from General Jackson in which his words were the links of testimony which completed the vindication of his friend.

For twenty years after the war, General Jackson accepted no political office, but pursued the practice of law with such marked ability as secured for him a handsome fortune.

Yet, during twenty-four years, a portion of which was included in the above period, he was the honored president of the Georgia Historical Society, located in Savannah.

In 1885, however, President Cleveland, by Senator Brown's request, tendered him the position of Minister of the United States to Mexico. Accepting, he served until some time in 1887, when he resigned and returned to his home in Savannah. It was an exalted compliment to him that President Diaz expressed his personal as well as official

regret that he would no longer be the medium through which the United States' government would transact its affairs with Mexico; while the Mexican Secretary of State said, "We would much prefer to handle our affairs with *you,* General Jackson, since your fairness and discernment have done more to bring our two countries together than has any other cause."

General Jackson was twice married; first, to Miss Cornelia A. Davenport, who was the mother of his three sons, Henry, Howell and Davenport, and his daughter, Cornelia A. (Mrs. Pope Barrow); secondly, to Miss Florence Barcley King, daughter of Hon. Thomas Butler King, who survives him, living at their home, Forsyth Place, Savannah.

He was a man of extraordinary versatility of talent. As a soldier, he was brave and adroit—his career in the field culminating in Hood's defeat at Nashville, where his brigade held its ground till the remainder of the army was routed, and then was surrounded and with him captured; as an advocate, he was vigorous, clear and aggressive; as a jurist, impartial and wise; as a diplomat, astute and alert; as a literateur, polished and glowing with "the fire divine." In all things he was clean and honest. When to these truths we add unswerving fidelity to his friends, tender devotion to his family and a love for God which was as beautiful as his trust in Him was sublime, we may well assert that in him we have found the ideal man, since we who knew him well can assert that the mainspring of his life's daily deeds was obedience to conscience.

As a conversationalist, he was almost without an equal, being gifted with marvelous memory, with clear, ringing voice, with forceful and, at times, even impassioned delivery, with language which was weighty with wisdom,

while it sparkled with brilliance, and with a loyalty to truth which stamped his words as history told in an oration.

As long as he would talk, fascination held his hearers, and equally with the delight of listening to him was the desire that from this fountain of cultured thought the liquid jewels would cease not to leap. To any who would declare such words exaggeration, we can only say, "You have not heard General Jackson!"

The writer distinctly recalls the striking effect made on his own mind by General Jackson's repeating, on two or three occasions within that number of years, Christ's prayer, in Chapter XVII. of John's Epistle. "That," said the General, "should be called 'The Lord's Prayer,' since it pertained to Himself in His relationship to the Godhead; whereas, what we term 'The Lord's Prayer' was the prayer He framed for men to use in their petitions to God for their own needs."

His poems were noted for graceful elegance of verse and appeals to the heart. Probably the best known are "My Father," "My Wife and Child," and "The Red Old Hills of Georgia." He also wrote a longer poem, "Tallulah," which abounds in lyric beauty and rich imagery of thought.

The days of his prime were in the era when Georgia was a school of great men, and, intellectually we may say, he walked a giant among giants.

He died as the result of a paralytic stroke, at his home in Savannah, May 23, 1898.

His remains, wrapped in a Confederate battle-flag, lay in state for a day, and, as the multitudes looked upon the peaceful features of him who among his last words, with clasped hands and eyes gazing as into the skies, had said of his loved Redeemer, "I *adore* Him!" there rested truly

in the minds of the high and the humble the conviction, "A great light hath been quenched! A great man hath fallen!"

"Rest thee! There is no prouder name
E'en in thine own proud clime!"

# THE WANDERER CASE.

**The Speech of Hon. Henry R. Jackson, of Savannah, Ga.**

Upon being introduced to the audience by Chief Justice Bleckley, General Jackson spoke as follows:

*Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen of Atlanta:*

Thanking you for the honor of your presence, and more especially yourself, Mr. President, for the very kind things which you have spoken of me, and so graciously, I will introduce my remarks by reading briefly from the kind letter of invitation which has placed me before you: "It came to us that you had a preference as to the subject of your lecture, and that it might suit you to take up the 'Wanderer's Case.' I beg to say in behalf of the committee that we shall be delighted to hear you speak of the 'Wanderer's Case,' or any subject which you feel like discussing. I observed that even so stalwart a partisan as ex-Senator Ingalls admits in his lecture that the Northern people must share the responsibility for the presence of negro slaves in the South; but I do not think that many people of this generation know that this responsibility comes up to the advent of a slave ship a year or two before the war."

I gladly let these generous words evolve the subject for our consideration. I will discuss the comparative responsibility of the Northern and Southern people for the presence of the negro slaves upon our soil; for the turpitude assumed to be involved therein, and the political disturbance resulting therefrom.

This discussion might be facilitated by opening it with the fixation somewhere of human responsibility for the

presence of slavery on earth; but this could be attempted only on the assumption that personal liberty is the normal, and therefore the rightful condition of all men; and while such assumption does, indeed, seem to be embraced in the words of our declaration of independence, "all men are born equal," yet the inference that its framers used them with so broad a significance was thoroughly exploded by the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the Dred Scott case. From that decision I will read a few sentences, for two reasons wholly independent the one of the other; first, because a satisfactory pursuit of our inquiry is not possible without preliminary disposition made of certain questions, which were considered exhaustively and answered positively by the great judges who decided that case; second, because the responsibility of the Northern people for the political disturbances resulting from the presence of negro slaves among us can not but be immeasurably aggravated, in the judgment of all just men, by the colossal historic fact, that the revolutionary wave of fanatical frensy and sectional hate which was being turned by the designing leaders of public opinion at the North upon the Southern people at the date of the rendition of that decision, was not checked by the oath-sealed treaty stipulations of the Federal Constitution, with so broad and pure a stream of intellectual light, from the very highest of all our judicatures, resting full and fresh upon them and upon the world-recognized status of our negro population.

The Dred Scott case was decided at the December term, 1856, of the Supreme Court. I read from 20th Howard, S. C. Reports, pages 407, 408, 412.

"It is difficult at this date to realize the state of public opinion in relation to that unfortunate race, which prevailed in the civilized and enlightened portions of the

world at the time of the declaration of independence, and when the Constitution of the United States was framed and adopted. But the public history of every European nation displays it in a manner too plain to be mistaken." * * *

"And in no nation was this opinion more firmly fixed or more uniformly acted upon than by the English government and English people. They not only seized them on the coast of Africa and sold them or held them in slavery for their own use, but they took them as ordinary articles of merchandise where they could make a profit on them, and were far more extensively engaged in this commerce than any other nation in the world.

"The opinion thus entertained and acted upon in England was naturally impressed upon the colonies which they founded on this side of the Atlantic. And accordingly, a negro of the African race was regarded by them as an article of property, and held and bought and sold as such in every one of the thirteen colonies which united in the declaration of independence, and afterwards formed the Constitution of the United States." * * *

"It is very true that in that portion of the United States where the labor of the negro race was found to be unsuited to the climate and unprofitable to the master, but few slaves were held at the time of the declaration of independence of the United States, and when the Constitution was adopted it had entirely worn out in one of them, and measures had been taken for its gradual abolition in several others. But this change had not been produced by any change of opinion in relation to the race, but because it was discovered from experience that slave labor was unsuited to the climate and productions of these States; for some of the States, where it had ceased or nearly ceased to exist, where actively engaged in the slave trade, procuring

cargoes on the coast of Africa and transporting them for sale to those parts of the Union where their labor was found to be profitable, and suited to the climate and productions. And this traffic was openly carried on, and fortune accumulated by it, without reproach from the people of the State where they resided. And it can hardly be supposed that, in the States where it was then countenanced in its worst form—that is, in the seizure and transportation—the people could have regarded those who were emancipated as entitled to equal rights with themselves."

Let us apply to our discussion the analysis thus so rapidly but effectively made, and the graduation so clearly indicated, of the turpitude assumed to be involved in the presence of African slaves upon American soil:

First Grade—As adjudged by the Supreme Court, "worst form," "in the seizure and transportation of them," that is to say, in the African slave trade.

Second Grade—In the intersectional commerce in them.

Third Grade—In the interstate and neighborhood traffic in them.

Fourth Grade—In the holding and using them as personal property.

It will be perceived at a glance that while the turpitude assumed to be involved in the fourth or lowest of these grades is shared with it to the fullest extent by all of the three highest grades, itself is wholly free from and uncontaminated by the special turpitude which distinguishes from it in greater or less of graduated degrees each of the others.

### THE AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE.

The question of the comparative responsibility of the Northern and the Southern people for the African slave trade has been answered by the Supreme Court in words I have read: "For some of the States where it (slavery)

had ceased, or almost ceased to exist, were actively engaged—this was in 1787—in the African slave trade, procuring cargoes on the coast of Africa and transporting them for sale to those parts of the United States where their labor was found to be profitable." Brief statement, this! And yet, how like the casket fished from the orient sea, held by the fisherman in his single left hand, and yet from which, when opened, there emerged a cloud which rapidly darkened the entire heavens, and, condensing, evolved the gigantic genii of "The Arabian Nights." With what electriclike velocity American life flashes by! What a huge contrast between the year 1787 and the year 1858, when the entire North, more especially New England, assumed to be horrified by the picture of Charley Lamar's little speck of a yacht making headway westward along "the middle passage," surrendering her dead to the melancholy deep. One exceptional Southron now, whole Northern States *then* (little more than half a century before) actively engaged in the African slave trade!

There were potential causes, indigenous in States, in peoples, and in the trade itself, which have made this contrast, startling as it is, but a fair presentation of the comparative relationship borne by the two sections of the American union to the African slave trade.

Nature had not been liberal to the New England States in money-yielding products. Webster the great, referring to that fact as applicable to Massachusetts, pleasantly remarked in Savannah, now nearly half a century ago: "We can not claim to be the hewers of wood and the drawers of water for our brethren of other States; but we certainly can claim to be the hewers of granite and the coolers of water." Rock and ice! Behold the natural products of New England, with, of course, the primeval forests, stretches of which, especially along the coast of Maine,

abounded in woods peculiarly fitted for the building of ships for the African slave trade; more especially after that trade had been made illegal and needed cheap, light vessels, destined to make but a single voyage to and from the west coast and then to disappear from the face of the ocean.

But the people of New England were a brave, hardy, keenly intelligent, inventive and adventurous race. They naturally wished to "put money in their purses"; and the home chances for so doing were scant. But the ocean, the highway of nations, was wide open to them! What wonder that, from the beginning, and all along, down to the present moment, they became, and have continued to be, the seafaring traders and the shipbuilders of this entire continent! Thence came to New England her earliest and by far her largest wealth. Let the statistics of the whale fisheries and the African slave trade tell the story!

Nature, on the contrary, had been very generous to this southland of ours; in climate, in soil, in products, which were, or soon came to be, staples of the world's commerce; tobacco, rice, indigo, sugar, cotton from which, directly or indirectly, the gigantic wealth of the Union was to emanate. What wonder that from the beginning all along down, certainly to the war between the States, her people became and continued to be, almost exclusively agricultural! Not that her sons were deficient in the spirit of adventurous manhood! but with them it took to other channels than trade; to the chase, to the use of firearms, to subduing the horse, to preparing to fight, and to fighting the wars of the Union. Thence came to the South her glory. Let the statistics of the war of the revolution, of the last war with Great Britain, of the Indian wars under General Jackson, of the war with Mexico, and last, but very, very far from least, of the war between the States, tell the story!

That the people of the New England States, in smaller or greater numbers, had been actively engaged in the African slave trade for very many years before 1787, even were history silent, would be established by overwhelming proof intrinsic in the trade itself. Like all commerce, from the beginning it needed capital, and where was the money to come from? Like a plant rooted in thin soil, if I be not too bold in assimilating a traffic of the sea to a growth of the soil, it must have depended, at first, for sustenance upon its own products—of leaves and fruit. How many years, then, must it have been growing to attain the dimensions of 1787 when it had so ramified the business lives of whole States as to have become, from a business point of view, the States themselves; making them "slave trade States," precisely as the States of the South became "slave States," and Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi are to-day "cotton States."

But there was something else necessary besides capital for the successful prosecution of the African slave trade: and, perhaps, as vitally necessary as money itself—agents, servants, employees of rare character and capacity, who, as the trade grew into large dimensions, must have themselves grown into a corps, like an army or navy, in fact, composite of both, and requiring a discipline more rigid that either—men thoroughly educated or trained in the diplomacy, dexterity and daring needed for the procurement, or, in the language of the Supreme Court, for the seizure of the living commodity upon a barbaric and pestilential coast; in the skill and judgment absolutely worthless, unless somewhat scientific, required for the selection, the assortment, the preparation for shipment of the conscious and observant cargo; for the storing it away in the vacant places of the ship, where, in the allotment of space, little or no distinction could be drawn between a man or a

woman and a bag, box or barrel; in detail information as to supplies, appliances and action; as to what was to be done, and what was not to be done, and what might have to be done, to make the middle passage a success and the ultimate result of the venture a profit —done in the daily feeding, watering, ventilating and cleansing with deluges of ocean brine, technically called "salting down" the writhing mass; in medicating the sick, in subduing the rebellious, in silencing the desperate and the crazed; in separating the dying from the dead, and in letting the dead loose from the jammed and crammed, and steaming, weltering, groaning, shrieking hell afloat. Here was indeed a plant of very slow growth. It must have been growing very many years before it had attained the proportions of 1787. Who would venture to estimate, even roughly, the number of vessels which, during this long succession of years, made the middle passage, and vomited their cargoes of naked barbarians, first into the ports of New England, and, afterwards, when it had "been found from experience" that slave labor would not be profitable there, into the ports of the South. And yet the slave trade being, during all that time, not only legal, but, in the opinion of the civilized world, perfectly legitimate commerce, not only the number but the ownership of those vessels can be ascertained with absolute accuracy from the records of British custom houses. Here is a broad and fertile field for statistical research. Might it not be well for you, gentlemen of the committee, who so fortunately have taken upon yourselves the duty which has been so long and so shamefully neglected at the South, of vindicating the truth of history, and especially when, in so doing, you will vindicate the character of your own State, and section, and people, and, above all, the character of their ancestry, of whom they have such good cause to be proud, and who are

no longer here to vindicate themselves—might it not be well for you to fasten an eye upon it? Would it be wholly out of place, or perhaps I had better say, would it be in bad taste for you to direct formally to it the special attention of the accomplished and scholarly ex-Senator Ingalls? For it was, undoubtedly, during this long succession of years that the ancestry of the large mass of negro slaves, afterward upon our soil, were landed upon American shores. I am not at all bold when I say that, during the whole of that epoch, not one slave ship owned by a citizen of a Southern State, or operated from a Southern State, traversed the Atlantic ocean! After independence had been achieved, British custom houses yielding to American, the work of inquiry was facilitated. In fact, I myself, had a statement, taken from the Charleston custom house records, of the number and ownership of vessels engaged in the slave trade which entered that port during the years 1806 and 1807. It was sent to me on a newspaper clipping by a friend some few years ago. I was so unfortunate as to lose or mislay it. When commencing to prepare for this occasion, I wrote requesting him to furnish me with the name and date of the paper from which the clipping had been taken. This he could not do; differing from me in opinion as to the newspaper. I thought then, and still think, it was the *Atlanta Constitution*. We are in full accord, however, as to its substance. I read from his letter: "At any rate it was substantially this; an extract from the records of the custom house at Charleston showing the number of slave ships that arrived and discharged their cargoes there in 1806 and 1807, the last two years in which the slave traders were openly entered in the custom house, and giving the States of the United States and foreign countries in which they were assured, and to which they belonged.

"It revealed the fact that Massachusetts and Rhode Island were doing very nearly all the business."

After the 1st of January, 1808, the slave trade having become everywhere illegal, custom house records ceased to furnish the information we desire, and inquiry must be turned in other directions. You will readily comprehend how happy I was to obtain possession of the book I hold in my hand. It is the first volume of the life of Judge Joseph Story, by his son, W. W. Story, the late celebrated sculptor, I believe. It contains utterances from the Judge himself, when seated on the benches of his own circuit, which, of course, will be accepted as absolutely truthful all over the civilized world; for the reputation of the great man was indeed world-wide. I read first from pages 335, 336, the language of the son: "It was at this time my father's attention became directed to the slave trade. In the course of his circuits he had learned that, although prohibited alike by law and by humanity, it was still carried on to a considerable extent in the various seaports of the New England States; and that the fortunes of many men of prominence were secretly invested in its infamous traffic. The conscience of the North was then less sensitive upon this subject than it is now. Slavery itself had hardly disappeared in New England, and the slave trade was winked at. A man might still have a position in society and claim consideration as a gentleman, nay, as a Christian, while his ships were freighted with human cargoes, and his commerce was in the blood and pain of his fellow creatures. The practice was publicly and abstractly inveighed against; but was secretly and practically indulged in. The chances of great fortunes in that trade inflamed the cupidity and deadened the consciences of men among the States of my father's circuit. This was especially the case in Rhode Island, which, lying furthest south, where slavery, 'like

a mildewed ear, blasted its wholesome brother,' was exposed to more temptations and had larger conveniences for carrying on the trade than the more northern States. It is notorious that many large fortunes there and elsewhere were the blood-money of the slave trade, and owed their existence to the wretched cargoes which survived the horrors of the middle passage."

I next read from a charge of the father: "The Constitution of the United States having granted to Congress the power to regulate foreign commerce, imposed a restriction for a limited period upon its right of prohibiting the migration or importation of slaves. Notwithstanding this, Congress, with a promptitude which does honor to their humanity and wisdom, proceeded, in 1794, to pass a law to prohibit the traffic of slaves by our citizens in all cases not within reach of the constitutional restriction, and thus cut off the whole traffic between foreign ports. In the year 1800 an additional law was passed to enforce the former enactments; and in the year 1807, the epoch when the constitutional restriction was to cease, beginning with the ensuing year, a general prohibition of the traffic, as well in our domestic as foreign trade, was proudly incorporated in our statute book." * * *

"Under such circumstances it might well be supposed that the slave trade would in practice be extinguished; that virtuous men would, by their abhorrence, stay its polluted march, and wicked men would be overawed by its potent punishment. But unfortunately the case is far otherwise. We have but too many melancholy proofs, from unquestionable sources, that it is still carried on with all the implacable ferocity and insatiable rapacity of former times. Avarice has grown more subtle in its evasions; it watches and seizes its prey with an appetite quickened rather than suppressed by its guilty vigils. American

citizens are steeped up to their very mouths (I scarcely use too bold a figure) in this stream of iniquity. They throng to the coast of Africa under the stained flags of Spain and Portugal, sometimes selling abroad their cargoes of despair, and sometimes bringing them into some of our southern ports, and there, under the forms of the law, defeating the purpose of the law itself, and legalizing their inhuman but profitable adventures."

I will now read a description of the middle passage as given by the Judge, but, before so doing, beg to recall the fact that the horrors of the legal slave trade which he depicts were greatly exceeded by the horrors of the illegal:

"When the number of slaves is completed, the ships begin what is called 'the middle passage,' to transport the slaves to the colonies. The height of the apartments in the ship is different according to the size of the vessel, and is from six feet to three feet, so that it is impossible to stand erect in most of the vessels, and in some scarcely to sit down in the same posture. If the vessel be full, their situation is truly deplorable. In the best regulated ships a grown person is allowed but sixteen inches in width, thirty-two inches in height, and five feet eleven inches in length, or to use the expressive language of the witness, not so much room as a man has in his coffin. They are indeed so crowded below that it is almost impossible to walk through the group without treading on some of them; and if they are reluctant to get into their places they are compelled by the lash of the whip. And here their situation becomes wretched beyond description. The space between decks where they are confined often becomes so hot that persons who have visited them there have found their shirts so wet with perspiration that water might be wrung from them; and the steam from their confined bodies comes up through the gratings like a furnace. The bad effects of

such confinement and want of air are soon visible in the weakness and faintness which overcomes the unhappy victims. Some go down apparently well at night, and are found dead in the morning. Some faint below and die from suffocation before they can be brought upon deck. As the slaves, whether well or ill, always lie upon bare planks, the motion of the ship rubs the skin from the prominent parts of their body and leaves their bones almost bare. The pestilential breath of so many, in so confined a state, renders them also very sickly, and the vicissitudes of heat and cold generate a flux; when this is the case (which happens frequently) the whole place becomes covered with blood and mucus like a slaughter-house, and, as the slaves are fettered and wedged close together, the utmost disorder arises from endeavors to relieve themselves in the necessities of nature; and the disorder is still further increased by the healthy being not unfrequently chained to the diseased, the dying and the dead! When the scuttles of the ship's sides are shut in bad weather the gratings are not sufficient for airing the room, and the slaves are then seen drawing their breath with all that anxious and laborious effort for life which we observe in animals subjected to experiments in foul air, or in the exhausted receiver of an air-pump. Many of them expire in this situation crying out in their native tongue, 'We are dying.' "

Strong words these! are they not?—strong enough to "create a soul beneath the ribs of death"! What effect did they produce upon the people of Judge Story's judicial circuit? How many true-bills were found by grand juries? How many persons were prosecuted before petit juries? Nay, how many arrests were made for violations of Federal laws against the African slave trade? These questions, I think, have been sufficiently answered by his son.

"This charge produced no small sensation at the places where it was delivered. It roused at once the passions and the fears of those engaged in the slave trade. It quickened the consciences of many who had stood idly by and suffered the iniquity in silence, and it wounded the false honor and pride of others. It was then so new and bold an act to denounce the slave trade, and to affix to it its true stigma, that even many who opposed it, deemed, nevertheless, that the tone of the charge was not only exaggerated, but unbecoming the place from which it was delivered. The newspapers of the day publicly denounced my father; and one among them in Boston declared that any judge who would deliver such a charge ought to be 'hurled from the bench.'"

I will now repeat my inquiry, extending it both as to time and space. Was one true-bill ever found by grand jury in New England, or in any State of the North? or one person ever prosecuted before petit jury? or one arrest ever made? from January 1, 1808, to January 1, 1860, for violation of the Federal laws against the African slave trade other than Farnum? The colossal significance of this inquiry can scarce escape any one. Surely the attention of Mr. ex-Senator Ingalls might be directed to it in form most impressive. For, if the answer shall be in the negative, then will the fact be made apparent to mankind that, for more than half a century, during which the Adamses and Sumners and Sewards of American history *et id omne genus,* were pouring out their bitter calumnies and fierce anathemas against the Southern people into the ears of a too willingly recipient world, they were standing upon a geographical tribune literally putrid with the corpses of dead-letter Federal laws against the African slave trade.

Was not your attention specially drawn to a peculiar ring about these words of the younger Story, as I read them?

"The conscience of the North was then less sensitive on this subject than it is now. Slavery itself had hardly disappeared in New England, and the slave trade was winked at. The practice was publicly and abstractly inveighed against; but it was secretly and practically indulged in. The chances of great fortunes in that trade inflamed the cupidity and deadened the consciences of men among my father's circuit. This was especially the case in Rhode Island, which, lying furthest south, where slavery, 'like a mildewed ear, blasted its wholesome brother,' was exposed to more temptations."

Was ever reflection more ungenerous, or more uncalled for, cast upon an undeserving people? Cool and unscrupulous attempt made to reverse absolutely the true relationship of things! To make slavery the principal, and the slave trade incidental; slavery creator and the slave trade the creature; the South tempter, and the North the tempted; the South the mildewed ear, the North the wholesome brother, to be blasted by the contact between them; when as shown not simply by the indisputable truth of history, but by the very nature and necessity of things, precisely the reverse of all this not only is, but of needs must be, the naked fact. The slave trade principal, slavery incidental; the slave trade creator, slavery the creature. Had there been no slave trade, no African slave had ever made footprint on American soil; the North tempter, the South the tempted; the North the mildewed ear—mildewed by cupidity, set on fire, and by the foul practice of the African slave trade; the South the once wholesome but now, so far as that could be effected by the damning contact, the blasted brother!

And yet this writer was no coarse, common, ignorant person! He is but a fair impersonation, *ex uno disce omnes*, of that large part of the Northern people who have been laboring for more than two-thirds of a century with

a pertinacity rivaled only by their pertinacity in the African slave trade, to unload upon us their own shame.

From the Storys, father and son, to *The North American Review* is but a short step. Both parties Bostonian. The former occupied, and by right, the very highest position in the intellectual and social life of their day. The latter, for three generations, has been the leading literary journal of New England; nay, of the United States. Alexander Everett was at one time its editor. Both of the Everetts were writers for it. The most intellectual and cultivated men of both hemispheres have contributed to its columns; among them, and repeatedly, the greatest of living Englishmen, Mr. Gladstone. I now invite your special attention to one of its editorials. The article appeared in the November number, 1886. It bears the caption:

"A SLAVE TRADER'S LETTER-BOOK."

"It was my fortune, during my summer's vacation, to rescue from the obliterating maw of a New England paper mill a letter-press copy-book containing impressions of a series of remarkable letters, written by a prominent 'Southern gentleman' of 'the days before the war.' Happening to glance over the contents of the book, I saw it had once been the property of Mr. C. A. L. Lamar, of Savannah, Ga., a cousin, I believe, of Hon. L. Q. C. Lamar, our present United States Secretary of the Interior. It must have been confiscated during 'Sherman's march to the sea,' and brought North. It fell, I suppose, into unappreciative hands, or else it would have been utilized before this time, and not so carelessly doomed to destruction.

"In 1858, '59 and '60, this Mr. C. A. L. Lamar achieved the peculiar distinction of advocating, in the most practical way, the reopening of the African slave trade. His name will be specially remembered in connection with the

yacht Wanderer, which he fitted out for traffic with the barracoons of the African seacoast, a sort of commerce which had fallen into such neglect that the civilized world had put upon it the brand of 'piracy.' This Southern gentleman 'of the old school,' in the days of 'chivalry,' repelled the modern innovation with all his might, as the extracts from his letters will show. But pretty soon John Brown and Abraham Lincoln came along and ended the controversy. Mr. Lamar's views are no longer entertained, even in Georgia and the Carolinas; but they seem too good, in their historical aspect, not to be given to the public. They are moral antiques which still form a very interesting study.

"Though a Southern gentleman of the most approved type, Mr. Lamar appears to have possessed just enough of the 'Yankee' spirit of enterprise and thrift to render him human, for he was always ready to buy and sell, and stood decidedly in favor of government contracts."

Then follows thirteen pages of extracts from correspondence of the most intensely private, secret and confidential character; selected at the editor's own pleasure from the "confiscated" letter book; interspersed with sarcastic reflections without number, and of the most wantonly ungenerous character, upon Mr. Lamar and the people of the South. The article closes with the following words:

"But after a while the government raised these 'few additional regiments' to which he referred, and knocked the financial bottom entirely out of the African slave trade on the American continent.

"These letters show how rapidly we have been making history since the last of them was written. To the youth of the present generation, the society of which they were a natural product is practically as dead as the civilization of the Pharaohs. More graphically even than 'Uncle

Tom's Cabin' these letters reveal in a pitiless light the saddest phases of a society whose corner-stone was African slavery. Young Americans remember its existence, and yet how far away it seems. Every friend of our present genial and erudite Secretary of the Interior, then a fiery advocate of secession, now a loyal member of a national cabinet, then the fierce denouncer of Garrison, since the most eloquent eulogist of Sumner, can imagine with what feelings of amused amazement, looking across the bloody chasm of our civil war, he will recall the time when he received the letter of his then more famous cousin. We have traveled far since then and our faces have been set Zionward!"

I notice, simply in passing, the sardonic mockery of ethics which could clothe with a decent title of the law—"confiscation"—such lawless appropriation of private property as, by no possibility, could have borne in any civilized court of justice other name than larceny or robbery, and hasten to another superadded "confiscation" of far darker dye, for it was not only possible in the nature of things that there might be, but this writer plumes himself upon the fact that there actually had been two confiscations of this supremely personal property, as different from each other in effect as they were remote from each other in time; the one, confiscation of the mere material letter book; the other, confiscation of the secrets kept between its lids; the one, confiscation by the soldier or the bummer of Sherman's devastating army—Sherman's army in Atlanta! Sherman's army in Columbia! Sherman's army everywhere! Or in what lurid contrast with the German army of Paris—the other, confiscation by the roving North American Reviewer on his summer vacation tramp, when he stumbled upon, or in his editorial sanctum in Boston, when he preyed upon his time-scented game.

The comparatively harmless iniquity initiated by the first of these actors was about to be consummated by the obliterating maw of a New England paper mill, when the second stepped forward to the rescue, and withdrawing the letter book from "unappreciative hands" and the destruction to which it had been so "carelessly doomed," proceeded to "utilize" it for the purpose of betraying the confidences of the "prominent Southern gentleman" of "the days before the war," whose property he "saw it had once been," and of defaming the entire Southern people.

No one who has heard me read this article can have failed to perceive that its game flavor was given to the letter book for this Boston reviewer by the name Lamar, borne by a large Southern family, most numerous, I believe, in the State of Georgia, of the very highest respectability. And in these words: "Every friend of our present genial and erudite Secretary of the Interior, then a fiery advocate of secession, now a loyal member of a national cabinet; then the fierce denouncer of Garrison, since the most eloquent eulogist of Sumner," who can fail to recognize the scalp this reviewing savage was dangling about in his detestible effusion, which, in its utter disregard, not simply of the claims and proprieties, but of the common decencies of civilized life, can be assimilated to nothing so befittingly as to be a beastly bachanal orgy—a triumph dance—of American Indians of the most degraded and barbaric type.

The rightful owner of the letter-book dead; the "society whose corner-stone was African slavery" "dead as the civilization of the Pharoahs," what motive could have impelled this reviewer to the commission of so base a crime?

He has answered that question for himself: "But pretty soon John Brown and Abraham Lincoln came along and ended the controversy. Mr. Lamar's views are no longer entertained even in Georgia or the Carolinas; but

they seem too good, in their historic aspect, not to be given to the public. They are moral antiques which still form a very interesting study." * * * "These letters show how rapidly we have been making history since the last of them was written. To the youths of the present generation the society, of which they were a natural product, is as dead as the civilization of the Pharaohs." * * * "We have traveled far since then, and our faces have been set Zionward!"

Yes! he was attempting to make history! To plant the tap-root of that lie, of multitudinous roots, which had been potent enough in the past to make a revolution; to depose the sovereign Constitution of the old union, and to enthrone in its place the "higher law" so called; he was attempting to plant its tap-root in the future, and so to fix it there that the lie might stand, through all time, for the truth of American history.

Seward's "irrepressible conflict," then, is not yet ended. I remember to have been seated in the receiving-room of Williard's hotel, Washington City, very shortly after the close of the war, when Mr. Pierre Soule entered it. He had but recently returned from the City of Mexico, by invitation, as I had previously understood, from the Secretary of State, kindly expressed in a private note; and was now in Washington to give personal expression to his appreciation of the kindness. He had just left Mr. Seward when he entered the hotel. A noticeable figure indeed he was! His face wore the pallor of death. As we sat conversing together the very sofa beneath us shivered with the electricity which agitated the entire man. Painful indeed to him had been the interview; but of all Seward had said, the words which had rudely touched the most deep-seated and sensitive of all his nerves were: "The North will never consent to surrender the past!" Are the

Southern people prepared—are they preparing to surrender their past—to surrender the "old South," as it stands in the truth of history, and to accept a "new South" that shall deny, or adulterate, or mutilate it?

From the mere fact of your appointment, gentlemen of the committee, I understand that the Young Men's Library Association of Atlanta has decided that question in the negative, and I cheer myself with the belief, that if the power were vouchsafed them, they would announce their decision to the world in the purifying thunders of heaven! That as patriots, nay, more, far, far more! as subjects of the God whose "word is truth," they will never play traitors to that by recognizing themselves to be the conquered and the craven subjects of a lie; immaterial in what aspect of its myriad phases it may be pleased to present itself—that their march "Zionward" will not be in line right dressed—"eyes right" upon the hard profile of the Yankee confiscator! That, if they are to "crook the pregnant hinges of the knee where thrift," or office, or fame, may follow fawning, they will kneel to a cleaner master than that!

Had some professor of telescopic vision directed his eye to the Wanderer upon the "middle passage," what of the South would he have discovered about or upon her? Made by Northern hands with Northern wood; fitted out, as we shall hereafter see, for the west coast, in one, and cleared from another Northern port; of the five men upon her, in addition to her wretched cargo of Africans, four were Northerners, headed by J. Egbert Farnum, sometimes known as head sailsman, sometimes as purser, but finally coming out—as we shall hereafter see—in his true character as captain. All of the South in and about her was Corrie; Corrie so well known in Charleston; the veriest figure-head in all the world. Four of these men were al-

ready in jail when I was employed by the government to assist the United States District Attorney, Mr. Joseph Ganahl, in the prosecutions. The attention of the attorney-general was directed to the fifth in the letter I will now read:

SAVANNAH, GA., March 25, 1859.

"Hon. J. S. Black, Attorney-General of United States.

"Sir:—One of the individuals prominently connected with the Wanderer in her piratical expedition, probably the purser, and by name J. Egbert Farnum, is supposed to be usually in New York, and not unfrequently in the city of Washington. It had been my intention to have the proper affidavit made out, and a warrant issued for his apprehension, to be brought for trial here. Apart from the difficulties raised by the decision of Judge Magrath, however, upon consultation with Mr. Ganahl, and the district attorney for the Southern district of New York, whom I was happy to meet in this city, the conclusion was reached that it might be expedient to put Farnum upon his trial in the district where he may be arrested. In some respects the forum might be a more desirable one, being situated in a non-slaveholding region; and it is not at all impossible that the facts elicited may involve houses in New York city which it may be important to strike. The documentary evidence in our possession against Farnum, making out a strong *prima facie* case, has been placed in the hands of Mr. Sedgwick. Two or three witnesses, now completely under our control, will suffice to consummate the proof against him.

"I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant, H. R. JACKSON."

Not very long after the date of this letter, chancing to be in Washington, I was called to his office by the attorney-

general upon urgent business. Arrived there he informed me that a man by the name of J. Egbert Farnum, claiming to have been the purser on the Wanderer, was at the Metropolitan hotel, and had sent a confidential agent to him proposing to supply "you" (me), as the attorney-general put it, "with the log-book of the Wanderer, and with evidence enough to convict the men you are now prosecuting, for $7,000, to be paid after conviction; himself, of course, to enjoy immunity. What think you of it?" "Why, judge," I exclaimed, "I do not hesitate one second to answer that question."

"In my judgment, it would be better that every slave-trader who shall hereafter cross the Atlantic westward should go free than that a single man should lose his life upon such infamous testimony. Usually, when a desperate criminal peaches upon his comrades, he is in jail, in imminent danger of losing his own life, and human pity for human cowardice recognizes some extenuation for his infamy, but here is a man who, I am well assured, is not only free, but is living in luxury at the St. Nicholas." "Your are right," exclaimed the attorney-general; "we will drop him." "Not him," I responded, "but his infamy. As for him, I will myself make the requisite affidavit before Judge Wayne and have him arrested and taken to Savannah for trial." "But," said the attorney-general, "that can not be! The offer was made to me in perfect confidence, and after I had given a solemn pledge that, if it were not accepted, the whole matter would be kept profoundly secret. He can not be arrested now and in Washington, and on your affidavit." I discovered that the attorney-general was immovable, and returned to Savannah discontent. I withdrew from Mr. Sedgwick the documentary evidence placed in his hands, and prepared for the November term, 1858, of the United States Circuit Court

for Georgia. No resident of Savannah at that time can have forgotten what a period of peculiar excitement it was, nor what were the labors, and what even the personal exposure of the district attorney, Mr. Ganahl, than whom government never had a braver, more efficient, or more indefatigable officer. Immediately after the adjournment of the court I proceeded to Washington, and, in a brief note to the attorney-general, withdrew from the cases, upon the ground that I could not consent to be longer engaged in helping to attract the attention of the world to the city of Savannah, as though it were the head center of the African slave trade, when I felt assured that it was at the North; and when Farnum, the leader in the Wanderer expedition, was notoriously in New York City, and not arrested. In reply, I received a brief note to the effect that the President desired to see me personally, and appointing the time for our interview. The first words of the President, as we met, were:

"You are mistaken if you suppose the government does not desire to prosecute Farnum! It is a singular fact that Farnum can not be arrested."

"Singular fact, indeed," I replied.

"Will you undertake to arrest him?"

"But I am not a constable."

"Oh, I understand that, of course; will you go to New York and see that he is arrested?"

I thought very rapidly indeed, and said: "I will go upon one condition—that you give me the assistance of a gentleman now employed in the Patent Office, Mr. Lucien Peyton by name." Immediately the President wrote an order, in military form, addressed to Mr. Peyton, or to the chief of his bureau, directing him to report at once to me and remain subject to my orders until I should relieve him,

his salary to be continued and all bills for disbursements presented by him to be paid if they bore my approval.

With this document I hastened to Peyton, who was a Southerner, of the family so well known in Virginia; with whom I had become acquainted when he was confidential agent of the post-office department, and I district attorney for Georgia, and whose eyes kindled at the mention of the adventure upon which we were to go. The next train for the North placed us in New York. The parts of two days and two nights which we spent there were full of interesting and, occasionally, amusing incidents. But want of time utterly forbids my undertaking to give a detail of them. I epitomize them by saying that, had not Lucien Peyton been living and with me, Farnum would never have been arrested or transported from New York through Washington to Savannah. I believed at that time, I became fully assured afterwards, that Peyton conducted not only Farnum, but Rynders and two of his deputies, all four of them, under arrest, from New York to Washington.

Reaching the latter city in the early morning, I was met at the depot by a stranger who, having ascertained my name, said he had been ordered to meet me with a body of police, at the request of the attorney-general, and asked me for directions. I told him to constitute himself and companions a secret guard; not to interfere with the relationship of the parties *inter sese,* but never to withdraw his eye, or the eye of a perfectly reliable man, from any of their movements.

The impressions made upon myself by the expedition are expressed in my correspondence with the attorney-general, which I will now read:

WASHINGTON, December 13, 1859.

"To the Hon. J. S. Black, Attorney-General.

"SIR:—At this stage of the prosecutions springing out of

the voyage of the Wanderer, I feel that it is due to the government, as well as myself, to place it in possession of certain views which I have formed upon mature deliberation, and after observation long continued, close and anxious.

"I have been pained by the consciousness of having failed to impress my own convictions of the peculiar character and claims of these criminal proceedings and their concomitant developments upon those by whose direction, and under whose full approbation alone can they be conducted to a conclusion at all satisfactory or honorable to the government, or to the persons actively concerned in their prosecution. I am aware that this is wholly attributable to the inexorably exacting claims upon the time and thought of the high functionaries of a government like ours, and that it would be wholly idle and quite unjust to expect that they shall view the developments made by a lawyer, engaged in a complicated criminal investigation with the same intensity, conducting to the same earnest and quickening convictions as naturally must be the case with him. The practical result, however, of such a condition of things as the one now under consideration, is none the less deplorable—none the less fatal.

"But to the point. My recent visit to New York has rapidly consummated into convictions what, for some time, had existed in my reflections under a form somewhat more substantial than suspicion. I have discovered, to my own entire satisfaction, that the piratical expedition of the Wanderer was but one scene—and not the most significant—of a drama resolutely played off under the eyes of governmental officials, highly placed and largely trusted; that this enterprise was so complicated with the actors and capital engaged in similar enterprises, some completed and others in movement or in contemplation—that to conduct the prosecutions springing from it to a successful close

must involve the development of a criminality almost gigantic in its proportions, as well as in the number and character of its connections and agencies, and, very probably, the exposure of official corruption as disgusting as it is appalling. While, on the one hand, to the effective discovery of all this must be devoted an expenditure of money and of time, which would seem to be beyond the reach of government, for such a purpose, I have no hesitation in saying, on the other, that, until this is done, to continue the struggle in Savannah at so great a sacrifice as must be made by the persons who are willing to represent the government there, while the great heart of the mischief continues freely to pulsate elsewhere, is somewhat too analogous to a practical mockery. It were vain to hope for a successful issue; and any practical benefit, to result from a continuation of the prosecutions, sinks into absolute insignificance when contrasted with the entire mischief in its real proportions.

"It would probably be wise that I should close my communication at this point. It may not be proper for me to offer a suggestion as to what ought to be done, in view of the present position of things. But my experience, derived from a year's connection with these prosecutions, may be of some value, and I presume to offer it for what it is worth. In my judgment the government should engage the services of some competent and reliable person, giving him its full confidence, and placing at his disposal the necessary means to act promptly, efficiently and perseveringly, and charge him with the entire investigation of the African slave trade in the United States; to ferret out criminality, to develop and control testimony, to institute prosecutions, and to direct them to their close. As a matter of necessity this mere statement raises the idea of a singular trust, a peculiar responsibility, very probably a startling expendi-

ture of money. This is undoubtedly true, but, on the other hand, the case is singular, the necessity peculiar, and the truth already sufficiently disclosed to be startling enough. At all events, the question for consideration, as it seems to me, is whether the government can or will abandon a class of prosecutions which must assuredly prove abortive, if from no other consideration, from the fact that they do not strike the root of the evil.

"I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant, HENRY R. JACKSON."

ATTORNEY-GENERAL'S OFFICE.
December 14, 1859.

"DEAR SIR:—I have seen the President, and had a conversation with him upon the subject to which your letter of yesterday refers. The services of no officer, agent, or counsel of this government have been more highly appreciated than yours. The zeal and fidelity with which you have performed your duty are beyond all praise of mine. While, therefore, it is true that the officers of the United States government here are unable to comprehend the bearings of the prosecutions in which you have been engaged at Savannah in all their details, for want of time to study them; is also true that no representation of yours upon the subject has failed to make its proper impression upon our minds. The very fact of our unlimited confidence in your capacity and integrity has served to make it unnecessary for us to examine the details of the case.

"This being the condition of things, and the relations existing between you and the government, the statements contained in your letter are calculated to excite the deepest interest. The last thing that the president or any member of his cabinet could be accused of is indifference to these gross violations of law. But your communications are so

general as to make any decisive action upon them somewhat difficult, if not impossible, and I am now writing principally for the purpose of requesting a more specific statement of the facts.

"You express in substance the conviction that the African slave trade is carried on extensively by American citizens in American ships fitted out by American capital. It is desirable that we should know what facts we may expect will be found upon this subject when it comes to be fully developed. You add that it may require a startling expenditure of the public money to detect these criminals and bring them to justice. What is your estimate of the probable cost? I do not desire this latter question to be answered because I think that any mere consideration of dollars and cents should be put in competition with the laws of the land, but it is necessary to be prepared with the proper amount, whether it be little or much.

"Upon ascertaining the facts as definitely as possible, I propose to make an application to Congress for a specific appropriations to meet expenses. * * * I am aware that the amount of your personal responsibilities in these cases has already been large enough, and I do not propose to increase it; whatever you say, therefore, upon this subject, will be treated as confidentially as you please.

"It is proper I should add, that under no circumstances can the government consent to the abandonment of the prosecutions now pending in Savannah. Nor do I think we can have any hope of even partial success without the continuance of your service.

"I am respectfully, yours, etc.,

"J. S. Black."

"Hon. Henry R. Jackson, Washington, D. C."

WASHINGTON, December 16, 1859.

MY DEAR SIR:—Before leaving Washington I deem it expedient to place in writing a few suggestions, springing directly from our recent correspondence and conversations in reference to the suppression of the African slave trade.

"There can be no question, I think, that the matter calls for prompt and energetic action.

"It is to be remembered, in the first place, that the prosecutions against Corrie in Carolina, and Brown, Farnum and others in Georgia, upon the successful issue of which depends so much, require the development of such additional evidence as may be necessary to place them in full force before the courts in the early spring.

"But important as, doubtless, the elicitment of this evidence is, with a view to its use in the Southern cases, the effect to be produced upon the public mind of the South, and more especially upon the minds of Southern jurors by active proceedings and prosecutions at the North for like offenses, is of far more consequence. The character of the investigations which it is contemplated should be made, of itself, requires prompt action. Since the arrest of Farnum, which must be regarded as the beginning of the end, nothing is to be gained, and much may be lost by delay.

"I therefore propose, if it meet the sanction of your better judgment, to return to Washington so soon as I can make the requisite arrangements at home, to commence the investigation upon such scale as may, for the present, be deemed advisable. I am most decidedly of opinion that, with a view to success, the work should be set on foot, if not consummated, prior to any action whatever in Congress which might tend to fix public attention upon our movements.

"As regards the fund necessary for the business, I would say that I believe I shall be enabled to secure the services of

a most efficient assistant in the person of a gentleman already connected with the government, and for whose remuneration no special fund need be raised; while the compensation to be paid for my own services will be so wholly dependent upon their character, success and positive results, that it would seem hardly proper at this incipient stage of our proceedings to take them into very serious consideration. After they shall have been rendered, not only will the government be better prepared to place upon them a just estimate, but a bill providing for their payment would be less liable to encounter opposition in Congress. Of course, should they result, contrary to our expectation—for the fallacy of which I alone shall be responsible—in simply eliciting (and of this result there can be no doubt whatever) additional evidence to be used in the cases which I am now prosecuting before the Southern courts, my legitimate fees in those cases will provide all the remuneration which I shall feel myself at liberty to claim.

"The only fund which I shall desire, therefore, to be placed at my immediate disposal, would be what I should feel authorized to use for such secret and quasi-police agents as circumstances might require. While it would be impossible to estimate it in dollars and cents, I am quite sure that, for the time, it will not be formidable. Before incurring any serious expenditure for such purpose I should, of course, look to you for further direction.

"I pray you to pardon me if I seem to intrude too often, or too earnestly upon your time and attention. My excuse is to be found in the tone of your kind and by far too flattering note of yesterday, for which I owe you my sincerest acknowledgment, and in the deep personal interest which I have come to take in the development of a complicated system of intrigue and lawless speculation, where, I am fully

assured, is to be encountered the heart of the most serious, infectious and threatening criminality of the country.

"If my views thus expressed should meet your approval, and seem to suggest an available plan for immediate action, a line addressed to me at Savannah will command my services at the earliest possible moment.

"Very truly and respectfully, your obedient servant,

"HENRY R. JACKSON.

"Hon. J. S. Black."

"WASHINGTON, February 20, 1860.

"SIR:—For the purpose mainly of discovering testimony to be used in the prosecutions now pending before the United States courts of Georgia and South Carolina for violation of the laws against the African slave trade, I dispatched an agent immediately after our last interview in reference to that subject to specified points in Maine, New York and other States of the North.

"I was already apprised of the fact that the Wanderer had been fitted out for her illicit voyage at Eastport, and the report of Mr. Peyton leaves no doubt whatever of the fact that many, in all probability most, of the vessels engaged in the trade are constructed and equipped on the coast of Maine. The pine and beach timber which abounds in that region is well adapted to the building of cheap vessels, designed for a single voyage, and to be burned at its successful close. Most of the inhabitants of the coast of Maine are seafaring people and shipbuilders—the latter class seeming to predominate. They are clannish, well instructed as to the lawless adventure for which the vessels referred to are needed, and reticent accordingly. Enough has been ascertained to indicate that investigation ought to be diligently carried on in that quarter. Much valuable information was elicited from a person who has been con-

nected with the voyages to Africa for slaves, who was one of the company of the ship that, during the last summer, I think, landed eleven hundred negroes on the Isle of Pines, and was then burned. He, with others, fell into the hands of the Spanish authorities, but procured his discharge by means of a bribe. Of course the object of burning these vessels is the destruction of evidence.

"It would seem that many, if not most of them, are cleared from the port of New York; and it is significant that they leave the coast of Maine furnished with all the usual appliances of slave ships. Such was undoubtedly the fact in regard to the Wanderer when she fell into the hands of the United States marshal for New York.

"Our researches so far confirm the suggestion already presented to your consideration; that the capital engaged in the slave trade is large, and the persons interested and enlisted in its prosecution numerous, active, audacious, formidable, through quasi-organization, and receiving facilities, there is the strongest reason to apprehend—through the corruption of officials, State and Federal. It is believed, with proper and well-directed effort, available evidence can be procured to authorize arrests to sustain prosecutions, so soon as the government shall feel itself empowered to act.

"I purposely abstain from the use of names in correspondence, fearing that, while no good may be effected, some harm may result therefrom.

"I am happy to say that we have procured testimony enough, if the attendance of witnesses can be successfully compelled, to perfect the cases standing for trial in March and April next, at Charleston and Savannah.

"In conclusion, begging to refer to our former correspondence and conversations in regard to that matter, I would most respectfully suggest that further steps should

be taken to develop the truth in regard to the slave trade as carried on by parties resident in the United States, and to procure the evidence necessary to the conviction of guilty persons. While delay must, of course, be disastrous, success can only result from a more extended, diligent and determined investigation than can be conducted with the means and instrumentalities which are now afforded.

"Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

"H. R. JACKSON.

"Hon. J. S. Black, Attorney-General."

I will now read again from the last of these letters: "It would seem that many, if not most of the slave ships, are cleared from the port of New York, and it is significant that they leave the coast of Maine furnished with all the usual appliances of slave ships. Such was absolutely the fact in regard to the Wanderer when she fell into the hands of the United States marshal for New York." You will recognize the relationship between these words and a letter which was, at the time I wrote them, on file in the attorney-general's office, and which I will now read.

"UNITED STATES MARSHAL'S OFFICE,
"SOUTHERN DISTRICT, NEW YORK.
NEW YORK, February 17, 1859.

"To His Excellency, James Buchanan.

"DEAR SIR:—My attention has been directed to a paragraph in the *New York Courier and Enquirer*, in which it is stated that I ought to be deprived of my office of marshal of this district for not having performed my duty in the case of the yacht Wanderer, charged with being fitted out as a slaver from this port.

"As a general thing I do not deem it worth my while to notice the slanders that are constantly emanating from

newspaper writers sufficiently even to contradict them. I am fully aware of the bitter and rancorous hatred of these writers toward every true democrat, and more especially to those who have stood by the administration during the Lecompton struggle; but the *Daily News*, a pretended Democratic journal, states it is rumored that serious charges have been made to the President against me in reference to the same case. I, therefore, deem it my duty to state to you briefly the facts of the case:

"The Wanderer was arrested on a warrant as for being fitted out for a slave voyage, and was detained in custody for a few days. During that time she was thoroughly searched from stem to stern—every corner and cupboard was examined, but nothing was found which could by any possibility convict her. The assistant United States attorney and reporters of the press were present during the whole of the investigation. We subsequently examined her stores, which were on board the tender or lighter, with a similar result. I was then instructed by the United States attorney to discharge her from custody. After her discharge some of the newspapers charged me with having overstepped the bounds of my authority as a public officer, and of having invaded the rights of private individuals; and others accused me of being humbugged, etc.

"I regret having to trouble you with such disagreeable business when I am aware that more important matters are pressing upon you at this time, but a feeling of duty must be my excuse.

"With best and kindest wishes for your continued health and happiness, I remain,

"Yours sincerely,

"Isaiah Rynders."

You will also recognize the relationship to both letters of a clipping I now read from the *New York Times* of May 5, 1860:

"CASE OF THE SLAVER STORM KING—TWO ATTACHES OF THE MARSHAL'S OFFICE DISCHARGED.

"Mr. Dwight, the assistant United States district attorney, at the opening of the United States Circuit Court this morning, read several of the affidavits touching the conduct of Theodore Rynders and Henry Mann, two of the attachés of the United States Marshal's Office, in the case of the alleged slave brig Storm King, which these officers boarded while she was escaping from this port on Wednesday last, and permitted her afterwards to go to sea under suspicious circumstances.

"Mr. Dwight moved for the discharge of the delinquent officers from their functions as constables of the court, and for an order that the marshals show cause why they should not be discharged from that office. Judge Smally granted the order, and Mr. Thompson, the deputy marshal, returned to the court that the two officers had already been discharged. The judge remarked that if there was any force in the law those gentlemen would hear further of the matter. It is hinted that they will be proceeded against for participating in, or conniving at, the slave trade."

If there had been "any force in the law," and Theodore Rynders had been put upon trial, my testimony might have been used against him. For I had been an eye-witness of the failure of a well-devised plan for the escape of Farnum in Washington City, when this Theodore Rynders, in whose custody Farnum had been placed by his uncle, the marshal, had become beastly drunk, or played that part.

The extent to which the slave trade was being actually carried on, at that time, from the port of New York, could

be ascertained, with some exactness, perhaps, from the records of the newspapers of that day. For example, in the *New York Post* of November 12, 1859, appeared this announcement:

"The bark Emily arrived at the Brooklyn navy yard this morning, having been captured on the coast of Africa by the United States sloop of war Portsmouth. This is the fourth slaver taken within six months by the African squadron."

Not, however, until I began to prepare for this occasion, was I made fully aware of how absolutely correct had been the diagnosis of the extent of the slave trade disease at the North in the years 1858 and 1859, as given in my letters to the attorney-general. That light came to me from the following words, which I found in the "Cyclopedia of Political Economy and United States History." Article Slavery, volume 3, page 733.

"Difficult as this (the Webster-Ashburton treaty, August 9, 1842), made by the slave trade, it by no means suppressed it; and as the price of negroes in the South rose higher, importations increased, and so did the difficulties of obtaining convictions from Southern juries. The most notorious case was that of the Georgia yacht Wanderer, in December, 1858, but it was not the only one. According to the *Evening Post* of New York City, eighty-five vessels were fitted out from that port during eighteen months of 1859-60, the names of the vessels being given, and another newspaper of the same city estimated the cargoes introduced by these New York vessels alone, at from thirty to sixty thousand negroes annually. Said a Georgia delegate in the Charleston Convention of 1860:

"'If any of you Northern democrats will go home with me to my plantation, I will show you some darkies that I bought in Virginia, some in Delaware, some in Florida,

and I will also show you the pure African, the noblest Roman of them all.' "

A very slight study of this passage will make manifest the fact that the same desire and effort to divert from the North to the South, at any sacrifice of truth, immaterial how gross, the odium of the African slave trade, which were exhibited by the younger Story and by the *North American Review,* controlled absolutely this encyclopedist. His statement that "as the price of negroes in the South rose higher, importations increased, and so did the difficulties of obtaining convictions from Southern juries," is, in every particular, thoroughly false. So also the impression he seeks to make that the cargoes of the eighty-five vessels, which were fitted out from New York City for the slave trade, according to *The Evening Post,* during eighteen months of 1859-60, and the cargoes of slave ships from New York City, estimated by another New York paper at from thirty to sixty thousand negroes annually, were "introduced" into the Southern States. An inspection of the records of these newspapers which, of course, must still exist, will doubtless show that there has been a falsification of them as monstrous as it is malignant. There is not a man or woman here to-night who was living during the years referred to who does not know that the idea of thirty to sixty thousand Africans from the west coast being "introduced" during that epoch annually into the Southern States, and by vessels from New York alone, is so preposterously false as to be supremely ridiculous. That the eighty-five vessels were fitted out from New York during the time referred to I have no doubt; and that the annual shipment of slaves from the coast of Africa, upon vessels cleared from the port of New York, amounted to from thirty to sixty thousand annually, I am, also, fully prepared to believe. For I was assured by a Northern per-

son, in the way of learning the fact, that the slave trade was being carried on at that time to a greater extent than during the days of Wilberforce. But the negroes were taken to foreign ports; by far the largest numbers to Brazil, where the development of new industries was calling loudly for slave labor. The cargo of the Wanderer was the only importation of slaves into the Southern States from August, 1842, to the winter of 1858. The only "difficulties of obtaining convictions from Southern juries" were encountered in the prosecutions which sprang from that importation.

And so, gentlemen of the committee, the utterly and intensely unscrupulous character of the foes you will antagonize in vindicating the character of your own people, with the truth of history, is fully revealed. The wicked animus of the encyclopedist, now under examination, would have been made fully manifest, if by nothing else, by his effort to give historic significance to the silly words of a "Georgia delegate in the Charleston Convention." I was present when those words were uttered, not in Charleston, but in Baltimore, and could give you an account of a very amusing scene which they created if I had the time. "The pure African, the noblest Roman of them all" was, of course, from the cargo of the Wanderer.

Farnum having left Washington in charge of a reliable guard, I requested permission for the attorney-general to make known in Savannah his attempt to betray his comrades in crime, and it was accorded, upon condition that his (the attorney-general's) "name should not be mixed up" with the affair. In accepting the condition I did not see the peculiar trouble I was setting in wait for myself in the near future. It was a bit of very bad judgment on my part, born probably of our recent success in New York. I wrote to the district attorney to mention the fact in con-

versation, and, simply as coming from me! I felt assured that in the inflammable condition of our community, it would spread like fire through the prairie. And so it did! But, in anticipating that it would secure for me a kinder reception from Mr. Lamar and his friends, I reckoned very largely "without my host." I had been in Savannah but a few hours before I was called upon, and not altogether in such style as I would have preferred, for my authority; and my *"ipse dixit"* style of reply—"I say it!"—seemed to be still less to the taste of my interlocutor; and, indeed, I subsequently had quite good reason to apprehend that another flame was breaking out in another part of the prairie. Worse than that! I was not satisfied with myself. I had made an ugly mistake and I was quite well assured that the more quiet part of the community, and especially my professional brethren, might seriously question the propriety, or even justifiability, of my scattering such a rumor against a man I was actually trying for his life, abroad in a community from which the jury to try him might be taken.

One morning upon the street I was approached in great excitement by a devoted follower of Mr. Lamar, but who was also a very good friend of mine. "Great God, Jackson!" he exclaimed, "you are ruining yourself. I have seen General Henningsen, and he tells me that Major Farnum is the bravest man he ever saw; that he has seen him frequently in battle in Central America, where the two served together under General Walker, and that he has never seen so gallant a soldier; and here you are charging him with an act of basest cowardice. Whenever your name is mentioned in his presence he turns as white as a sheet and swears that whenever he shall be free again the world will not be large enough to hold both of you." "Fleming," I inquired, "are you at leisure? Will you take me to the

jail in your buggy? The jailer, Mr .Russell, is a personal friend of mine, and I am sure he will give us the use of his parlor. I wish you to witness an interview between Farnum and myself. No one else shall be present." A few moments placed us in Mr. Russell's parlor. When Major Farnum entered he was somewhat pale, but not so white as he was in Washington, when the plan for his escape had been foiled.

"Major Farnum," I began, "I hear that you say that I have done you the greatest wrong which one man can do another."

"Yes, I say it."

"Well, I am here to say to you that if I have really done you such wrong, I am most anxious to undo it, and to ask of you to give me the opportunity of undoing it, by showing that what I have asserted of you is not true."

"How can I do that," he exclaimed, "when I am locked up here in jail, without money, or lawyer, and my witnesses are at a distance from me?"

"Oh!" I replied, "for the purpose before us my purse is at your service. Nay! everything I own in this world is absolutely yours. And you can have no better lawyer than I for the work in hand. This gentleman is your friend and he will tell you that you can rely upon my word. Where are your witnesses?"

"In Washington City."

"That is fortunate, for I am going there immediately. Write to your friends to come to me there (at Mr. Cobb's) with your witnesses. Everything that passes between us shall be sacredly confidential."

Of course, as was to be expected, no such party came to me in Washington. But I went to the attorney-general and, after explaining the situation in Savannah, inquired:

"What is the name of Farnum's confidential agent, whom he sent to you from the Metropolitan hotel?"

"I do not know. If I ever heard I have forgotten it."

"Where did he live at the time he came to you?"

"I do not know."

"What did you understand to be his occupation?"

"I have no distinct recollection. I remember that, all the while, I had a vague idea that he was from New York and a 'tombs' lawyer."

"Is that all you can do for me?"

"Well, I can say this: He had the most remarkable nose I ever saw."

"Can you give me an idea of that nose?"

"Possibly I may," he answered, smiling; "when I was a boy I had some little reputation for drawing. I will try my hand for you."

And thereupon he drew a nose, which was indeed a very remarkable nose, and handing it to me exclaimed: "There it is."

I seized it quickly and hastened to Peyton.

"Peyton, old fellow," I exclaimed, "do you see that nose? I do not know the man who belongs to it, nor his name, nor his residence, nor his occupation, but you must find the nose and bring it and its man to Savannah."

And Peyton did it, making practical the ideal of a classic measure as old as the Greeks.

> "Your nose, my friend, is so excessive,
> To call it yours would be a wrong to it;
> But rather that is the possessive,
> And we should say you belong to it.
> Hence, having met you properly I say:
> Nose's Hemocrates I've seen to-day."

The presence, in Savannah, however, of the nose with its man did not touch the blatant mischief. So I sug-

gested, through Mr. Fleming's kind intervention, that a board of arbitration should be formed; Major Farnum to select one member of the Savannah bar and I to select another; the two, in the event of a disagreement between themselves, to call in an umpire. This board to examine the newcomer in such manner and to such extent as they might think proper. Should they determine, after such examination, that the ethics of the profession required me to retract the statement which I had made against Major Farnum, I would do so. Should they remain silent, so would I. Everything which should transpire before the board was to be kept profoundly secret.

Major Farnum selected Mr. John W. Owen, who was not his lawyer. I selected General Lawton, who was not at that time my partner. The arbitrators remained silent. I did hear that no umpire was called in. But I have never exchanged one word with either of the arbitrators as to what passed before them.

And so J. Egbert Farnum was put upon his trial. The witness, who had been traced by his nose, was placed upon the stand against him, and swore to the truth of the report I had circulated in every particular, except the most vital one. He swore that "Judge Black"—this was literally the first time the attorney-general's name had been "mixed up" with the affair—was mistaken in the name of the man who had sent him. "It was not Major Farnum" All of the white men except Farnum, who were on the Wanderer during the voyage, being in jail at the time of this interview with the attorney-general, any one was at liberty to determine for himself whether there could have been a mistake as to the name.

It is to be remembered that the man who thus swore was examined as a witness for the prosecution. As in the other

pirate cases there was no verdict rendered by the trial jury.

Farnum having been returned to the jail, within no long time thereafter it was broken open by a band composed of Mr. Lamar and some of his followers, and Farnum was let loose. He subsequently returned to prison under some arrangement, possibly upon condition that he would be bailed, but I was absent from Savannah at the time of his release, and have no knowledge of what the arrangement was.

As it may possibly be of some interest to know what finally became of him I read the following sketch:

From Appleton's Cyclopedia of American Biography, Vol. 2d.

"Farnum, John Egbert, soldier, born in New Jersey, 1st of April, 1824; died in New York city, 16th of May, 1870. He was educated in Pottsville, Pa., entered the army as sergeant-major of the First Pennsylvania infantry in 1846, and served through the Mexican war. Subsequently he joined the Lopez expedition to Cuba, which left New Orleans in 1859, and also took an active part in Walker's Nicarauguan expeditions.

"Still later he was captain of the steam yacht Wanderer, and was indicted, at Savannah, for carrying on the slave trade. He is said to have regretted this episode in his life; and, at the beginning of the civil war, he became major of the Seventieth New York volunteers, which was raised and commanded by General Sickles. He distinguished himself for gallantry in all the engagements in which Sickles's brigade took part and was promoted colonel of his regiment. At the battle of Williamsburg, May 5, 1862, he was severely wounded, but recovered in time to take part in the battles of Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville

and Gettysburg, and was breveted brigadier-general for gallant conduct in those engagements. He was then compelled by his wounds to abandon active service, and accepted the colonelcy of the Eleventh regiment of the veteran reserve corps, which he retained till the close of the war. Later he was appointed inspector of customs of the city of New York, which office he had at the time of his death."

I have now fully demonstrated, I think, my proposition that the contrast between the one exceptional southron of 1858 and the whole Northern States in 1787, startling though it be, is but a fair presentation of the comparative relationship of the Southern people, on the one hand, and the Northern people on the other, to the African slave trade, generally and throughout.

### THE INTERSECTIONAL COMMERCE IN NEGRO SLAVES.

There were very striking features of distinction between the intersectional commerce, on the one hand, and the interstate and neighborhood traffic, on the other, in negro slaves. To New England there were possible but two pretenses of justification or excuse for originally entering into, and subsequently prosecuting, the African slave trade: First, that her own climate, soil and products were such as to require slave labor to develop the last for the common good of mankind. Second, that she was transferring her cargoes procured upon the west coast, from a region of chronic barbarism, to a region of very high civilization. Now, when she discovered her mistake in the first of these assumptions, and "found from experience" that slave labor was "not profitable" to her, did she restore the original Africans, or their descendants, to the continent upon which nature had designed them to live? No, she did not! Did she relieve them from the condition of slavery, which she had fastened upon them, amid the hor-

rors of the west coast and the middle passage? and give them the opportunity of testing their own capacity for sustaining the struggle of life upon her own bosom, where she had placed them? or, failing in this, of going to such other part of the earth's surface as they might select, to renew the struggle there? No, she did not! She funded them! That is to say, whatever of marketable value was in them she put in her pocket; whatever of our common humanity was in them she reconsigned to her ships, for this was before the days of railroads, and "transported them for sale" "to those parts of the union where their labor was found to be profitable." In this second forced exodus of the unfortunates, she could not but renew a peculiar wretchedness, from which the child and the barbarian suffer far more than the adult and the civilized. I mean nostalgia, homesickness. The barbarian, living wholly in the concrete, twines about locality and mere material objects many more, and far more tenacious, tendrils of affection than does the civilized man, who may live very largely in the abstract; twines them about the hut in which he was born, about the grove in which he has disported himself, and the fountain from which he was wont to drink. These tendrils, rudely torn from the material objects of his barbaric home by the first forced exodus, had naturally caught at and fastened themselves to like objects of his civilized home. And now was to come a second tearing loose. Besides, in the second forced exodus, as, doubtless, in the first, husbands were severed from their wives and tender children from their parents. How do we know this? We know it from the fact that such was the charge New England was persistently making, for generations, against the Southern people—so long, so persistently, and with so much earnestness as to convince mankind at large, apparently, that the cruel calumny was full of truth. Now,

how did it get into the minds of her own people? Assuredly, not from the South! Enough of the old South still remains to establish the fact that precisely the reverse of all this was the truth; that, so far from such ruptures of family ties being common among the slaves of the South, if they ever occurred at all, they were the very rarest of all exceptions to general rules; that, as a rule, absolutely universal, slave families, and the generations among them were by far less separated than any other people in the civilized world; that this was a logical and legitimate result from the nature of things, and from the lives, the relationships and the interests of their masters. Whence, then, could such ideas have gotten into the heads of New Englanders, if not from their own practices and their own traditions? Every people, like every man, must carry within themselves their own standard of our common humanity. And there can be no room whatever to doubt that the atrocities, without number, and of feature multitudinous, which the tongues of New England poured into the ears of a world, so willing to be prejudiced against the Southern people, were but the reflections of New England's own atrocities, as developed in the African slave trade, and in the intersectional commerce in negro slaves, from the mirror of memory and of conscience in the sentiment and the moral nature of her own people.

It will be observed that the second pretense of justification or excuse applicable to the first had no application whatever (nay, quite the reverse) to the second forced exodus of the unfortunates. It was from no region of chronic barbarism that the second was made. So far from it! They were being torn from a region in many respects the most favored of all the earth. There stood Plymouth Rock! There the spire and the schoolhouse side by side!

There had been planted, and was rapidly developing a civilization which, in the opinion of one of the very greatest of men, was to become first the dominating and then the final civilization of mankind. I remember to have read in the very *North American Review* to which reference has been made, an article signed by Mr. Gladstone, in which having taken, as it were for his text, a quotation from Horace: "O matre pulchra filia pulchrior!" the daughter being the United States and the mother England; he contended, with his usual power, (1) that Anglo-Saxon civilization would dominate the world and become the final civilization of mankind, and (2) that it would be the civilization, not of the mother (England), but of the daughter (the United States), having his eye, of course, fixed upon New England civilization; for Mr. Gladstone, like many of the greatest and best of the world, has been profoundly prejudiced, as I have heard, against our Southern people.

From such a civilization, which was about to produce some of the very greatest and the very best of mankind; among them Webster the great, who, among the sublime intellectualities of the world, has always seemed to me like Niagara among the cataracts; the two Everetts; William Ellery Channing, who, although he doubted the divinity of his Saviour, nevertheless, in his sweet-souled piety, in his transcendental spirituality, was so like the disciple whom "Jesus loved," that I have never been able to think of him except as resting upon his Master's bosom; and Bryant, the greatest of all American poets, one of whose batteries, which at one time made the concave resonant with its thunders against the Southern people, I shall hope to have this night turned upon his surviving comrades:

"Truth crushed to earth shall rise again;
The eternal years of God are hers;
But error wounded writhes with pain,
And dies among his worshipers."

From such a blessed region as this, where simply to have lived would for them have been education by mere process of absorption, she was transferring the unfortunates whither? and to whom? To a realm of like civilization? Nay! Very far from that! To a semi-barbaric region? Nay! Worse than that! She was actually selling them as property to a people who, in her own judgment, which she has so indefatigably labored to make the judgment of mankind, were already sunk, or would rapidly sink, so far below any barbarism known to mankind before their day, as to be absolutely imperviable to, and uncontrollable by, certain ordinances of God which had theretofore been universally assumed to be of universal application; for example, that a man's own interest, and especially when it could assume pecuniary measurement, should exercise despotic rule over his action. Now, here was a people who, after paying nearly all the money they had to New England for negro slaves, would at once go to work in the most ferocious way and destroy that property so bought by maltreating it in every possible way—by overworking, starving, beating, maiming, mutilating and murdering those very negro slaves; doing by them what a Yankee, even in his most irritable and irresponsible condition, would not do by his horses, or his cows, or his hogs, or even his chickens! A people, too, who, although like New Englanders, of Caucasian descent, were sunk too low to be affected by another ordinance of God, merciful and celestial, as compared with the one I have just mentioned, and which may be thus expressed in a few words: wherever two human creatures are brought together by the current of events into mutual inter-

dependence, the one as superior, the other inferior; the one master, the other slave, there will spring up between them mutual affection as surely and as spontaneously as grass springs from the earth. This governing principle lay at the very basis of modern European civilization. For, as must be known to all scholars (and New England was full of scholars), the Caucasian race, embracing our common ancestry, were slaves during the night of the middle ages. There were then no freemen in Europe, except the robber knights, perched upon mountain crags in their castle like eagles on their aeries, dominating everything, animate and inanimate, within their purview, and yet from this forced relationship between robber knights and their serfs or vassals, who were, in fact, their slaves, sprang up the strongest mutual affection. Behold the generation of loyalty! the spinal marrow of modern European civilization; binding serf to knight, and as knight by conquest or intermarriage extended his dominion and became baron, binding serf to knight, and knight to baron and holding them all together, and as dominion continuing still to expand, baron became count or earl, running from baron to earl; and so on to duke and archduke, and finally to king, the sovereign liege lord, or master of all; loyalty like the ivy, creeping over the entire superstructure of society and government like the ivy, holding all of its compartments closely together; but, unlike the ivy, bursting forth at times into glorious bloom and shedding an almost celestial fragrance over the brightest and saddest epochs of European life. Now, this merciful ordinance of God, in the opinion of New Englanders, could not reach or affect either the white or black race of the South. And I do really believe, Mr. President, that this impression of the relationship of the two races in the Southern States to each other, became the impression of the civilized world. But I do also believe

that the film was torn suddenly from the eye of mankind by the more than colossal facts in history; that, although immediately before the war outrages had been perpetrated by blacks upon whites, and immediately after the war many more by freedmen upon the whites, during the years 1862-63, and part of '64, when all the white manhood of the South was upon the fields of war, and the mothers, wives, sisters and daughters, with all property, were left to the mercy of slaves, from the banks of the Potomac to the banks of the Rio Grande, not one outrage was committed! Where does history present a like development of loyalty? Does it not speak volumes in the defense of both the humanity of the master and the devotion of the slave? Mr. President, I have said once before in public, and I repeat it again to-night, that were the power vouchsafed to me, who hold the emotional far above the intellectual nature, I would erect in the center of this Southland of ours a shaft which should rise above all monuments that stand upon this continent, or that ever have stood upon any continent—which should realize the ideal of the Roman poet and "strike the stars with its sublime head"; and upon it I would inscribe, "To the Loyalty of the Slaves of the Confederate States during the Years 1862-63-64." May the divinity "that shapes out ends, rough-hew them how we will," in his merciful providence, grant that the white and the black races of the South, brought together into close relationship by foreign hands, may continue to live together in peace and amity, not wholly undashed by the tender affection of the olden time and the old South—so much misunderstood, so greatly maligned, so much belied, but which must, for us who knew it best, forever remain the golden age of American history!

New England, having thus dispossessed herself of her own slaves, and, by the African slave trade and the inter-

sectional commerce, having poured into the South all, or nearly all of its negro population, and having withdrawn from the Southern people all, or nearly all of their capital in payment for "negro slaves," what did she and her sister States of the North do to make the investment a profitable one for the purchase, and the change of condition a happy one for the negro race?

Here opens before us a broad expanse which it would be simply impossible for me to undertake to embrace, or even to strike through by a narrow path. Gentlemen of the committee, you were kind enough to invite me to make your introductory address, and to "open up the field of history" for those who might succeed me. I point to this as the field, every square foot of which should be thoroughly investigated, that an historical record may be made up before it shall be quite too late. I will simply direct attention briefly to one or two salient points. So rapid is the drama of American life that scarcely had the curtain been drawn over the scene of New England secretly but "actively engaged" in the African slave trade, and the intersectional commerce, than it was thrown open again to exhibit what are sanctimoniously claimed to be New England ideas, inspiring an impassioned host in the attack upon the Southern people to abolish the institution of slavery which she had, in her cruel and reckless greed for gold, fostered among them; the conspicuous leader being a distinguished son of Massachusetts, and an ex-president of the United States, who, according to William H. Seward, was the first to proclaim war against the Federal Constitution, under sovereignty of the higher law; and did it in the representative hall of the United States. That his animus may be comprehended, let me recall his exclamation in response to Mr. Dellett, of Alabama, his life-long admirer and supporter, who, having been brought into con-

flict with him, in responding to his abolition declamation, depicted the probable result of immediate abolition at the South in an internecine war between the two races, the weaker race, the slave, overwhelmed by the stronger race, the whites, and probably falling by the tens of thousands under the word, and asking, "Does the gentleman from Massachusetts desire such a result to come?" "Yes," exclaimed the ex-president, "let them perish by the hundreds of thousands, so that this foul blot be wiped from my country's escutcheon," and this but a few years after Judge Story's declamations to the grand juries in his (Mr. Adams's) Congressional district, and at the very time that the slave trade was doubtless being prosecuted from the port of Boston.

I propose to utter not a word against the abolition party of the North. I make no war upon the honest abolotionist. I have no idea that he knew anything more of the horrors of the African slave trade from personal connection with it than was known by the people of the South. How grateful have I been to God, during some of the darkest hours of my life, that He allowed me to realize as a practical fact that, whenever we see "the livery of heaven borrowed to serve the devil in," we may rest assured that the honest wearer of it—the angel—is not very far off. And so the North was, I will not say absolutely full, but very full, of as good people as could be found in any other civilized country; but a very broad distinction soon disclosed itself between two divisions of that people; the abolitionists, on the one hand, and the "free soilers" on the other. The free soil party organized itself to protect what was called white against slave labor, but what in fact was to protect white against negro labor, as will hereafter appear. To the head of this party William H. Seward was very soon called. And in no long time had succeeded in massing to-

gether, for political ends, both the abolitionists and the free soilers of the entire North, taking for the motto on his flag these words: "Let us so restrict the area of Southern slavery, let us so hem it in, that, like a poisonous viper, it shall sting itself to death." The slave freed because no longer of value, but a burden to his master! Slavery to be abolished because no longer capable of feeding the slave! The unfortunate African let loose from slavery, which had been imposed upon him by Northern hands, to fall into the jaws of starvation held open for him by the same Northern hand! Conglomeration of horrors fit to gloat the appetite of a very demon in destructiveness! Of course, to reach this result the Federal Constitution, which might throw its protecting arms around both races thus endangered, must fall and the "higher law," introduced by John Quincy Adams, must take its place! As was announced by William H. Seward himself, when, standing upon the long before desecrated steps of Faneuil hall, he proclaimed the grand purpose of the political campaign which was just opening, and used language which, certainly at this day, can meet with no sympathetic response from any true American heart: "What a commentary upon the wisdom of man is given in this single fact, that, fifteen years only after the death of John Quincy Adams, the people of the United States who hurled him from power and from place, are calling to the head of the nation, to the very seat from which he was expelled, Abraham Lincoln—(enthusiastic cheers)—whose claim to that seat is that he confesses the obligation of that higher law, which the sage of Quincy proclaimed, and that he announces himself for weal or woe, for life or death, a soldier on the side of freedom in the irrepressible conflict between freedom and slavery." What a significant picture was here presented! Faneuil hall! Temple dedicated to the higher law! Boston! Capitol sub-

jugated by the higher law! Massachusetts! State ruled by the higher law! Seward! World-recognized apostle of the higher law! dedicating Lincoln, a candidate for the presidency of the United States, to her service; a soldier for weal or woe, for life or death, in her ranks, to scale the loftiest peak of the American government, and depose the constitution under her flag, "whose claim to that seat is, that he confesses the obligation of the higher law."

For nearly a decade before this announcement, State after State in the north and northwest had been practically seceding from the union governed by the constitution of the fathers, and practically proclaiming allegiance to that same higher law. States which had passed no statute to aid in suppressing the African slave trade, passing statute after statute to nullify the Federal Constitution upon their soil, and the Federal laws enacted by Congress for the avowed purpose of sustaining it; conspicuous among them the fugitive slave law of 1850, which had emanated from the brain of Henry Clay, and been supported by Daniel Webster in, take it all in all, the noblest effort of his whole life; delivered after a night spent in going from room to room of the Whig senators and Whig representatives from New England, to find that not one of them would stand by his side! and closing with these memorable words:

"Mr. President, I shall speak and vote on this great question irrespectively of mere personal considerations. What are personal considerations? A man can not suffer too much or fall too soon, if he suffer or if he fall in support of the liberties of the constitution of his country."

So the flag of rebellion was actually floating from the capitols of a large majority, in fact, of nearly all the States of the north and the northwest; and the putridity of the dead-letter Federal laws against the African slave trade

mingled with the putridity of the dead-letter constitution and the dead-letter Federal laws enacted to support it.

From this condition of things the soverign States of the South withdrew themselves, bearing upon their shoulders, as Aeneas bore the old Anchises from the site of the Troy that "had been," bearing the constitution of the fathers from the spot where the union of the fathers had been. Alas, *Ilium fuit!*

Thus the war between the States commenced. Being at the head of the "minute men," an organization in the city of Savannah, I fully sympathized with them in a resolution unanimously adopted to seize Fort Pulaski, Georgia being still in the Union, Major Anderson having transferred his command from Port Moultrie to Fort Sumter, under order from President Buchanan, after the secession of South Carolina. Believing, however, that this corps, composed very largely of the young men of Savannah, might not be in all respects the best organized for the purpose, I was actively endeavoring to induce a sufficient number of men of my own age and independent position to form a corps for the same purpose when I heard that the governor of the State was in the city, called thither by telegram, and, as I understood, to suppress the contemplated movement. As a matter of course, I avoided him. I heard that he was in consultation with conspicuous gentlemen, who advised him to a conservative course. Finally we met, and then, for the first time, I came thoroughly to know the character of the greatest, practically speaking, of all confederate statesmen living, as usual, rather in the future than in the present; the venerable man—*nomen clarum et venerabile*—who still lingers among you, awaiting with calm and cheerful dignity the close of as perfect and as perfectly successful a life as is probably allotted by God to man.

After a conference of an hour or more he said to me that he would take Fort Pulaski, pleasantly adding: "Upon condition that you accept a place upon my staff, and give such direction to things as that no unnecessary harm shall come to any one." I proudly accepted a position upon his staff, which I continued to hold so long as he continued to be governor of Georgia.

The next day found me actively engaged in examining the map to ascertain in what Southern States fortresses similar to Pulaski were located. At quite a late hour the following night I sent a telegram to the governors of all such States, mentioning what we were about to do and requesting them to do likewise, the telegram closing with these words: "This is fighting for our rights in the Union." And the small hours of the night found me descending the Savannah river in a small boat with one oarsman, and favored by the tide. In our descent we encountered one of the very heaviest rain falls I have ever seen, and I remember that I saddened myself with the inquiry whether it might not be ominous of the future.

The dawn of day saw me capture Fort Pulaski by simply walking into it. No killed, no wounded, no glory. And so, while Peyton—poor gallant Peyton—were he still alive, might fairly claim to be the first, last and only man active in suppressing the African slave trade at the North, I can fairly, as I do proudly, claim to be the first rebel, "so-called," actively engaged upon land or water, at the South.

Gentlemen of the committee, a few more words and I shall have concluded what will probably be the last elaborate address of my life.

In the year 1860, behold the two sections of the American Union! The North densely populated, marvelously inventive, poor but aggressive, chafing beneath the domination of the South—a section of shifty shop-keepers, of

laboring artisans and of struggling manufacturers. But everywhere among her people prevailed the ruling sentiment of the Anglo-Saxon race, an intense yearning for dominion, which should soon culminate in the principle of "rule or ruin." It is true that from her statesmen and her philosophers, her priests and her poets, there came creations which have upon them the impress of the touch divine, which the world denominates genius. The attrition which had resulted from the hard life imposed upon her by her poverty, had polished the genius of many of their sons, and placed their names among the immortals. But wealth she wanted, and wealth she would have at any cost, whether of principle or of policy, whether through the slave trade or through the impositions of an iniquitous tariff. "Put money in thy purse" was the shibboleth of the section.

On the other hand, behold our section—the fair land of the South! Radiant in the soft sunlight which warmed her breast into generous fertility, she stood before the civilized world as the favorite child of a bountiful providence. The loyalty of black slave to white master, the fertility of her fields, and the industry of her sons, had produced a wealth sufficient to enable a portion of her children to devote their time to affairs of State. She governed this Union for more than seventy years, but with a purpose so honest, a hand so gentle, and a heart so pure, that heaven smiled upon this Southern queen. Her daughters excelled the storied beauty of the Orient, and her sons, in all that proclaimed true and noble manhood, had placed themselves upon an elevation which made them the envy of the struggling masses—laborers and shop-keepers—of the North. The civilization that produced these results must be destroyed! The North had the population, and precisely as the gem of purest ray serene may be overwhelmed by brass

and lead and iron—so the old South fell! But from the date of her fall to the present moment, I have been entering my protest against the wanton and cruel falsehood which seeks to fasten upon her fair form the horrors of the African slave trade, and the occasional unfortunate results of slavery. The stern glory of Sparta, the rich beauty of Athens, the splendors of imperial Rome, the brilliancy of ancient Carthage, all pale before the glories of the old South—the sunny South of our forefathers—of Washington, of Jefferson, of Madison, and last but not least, of Lee; and it is a source of profound satisfaction that I am able here, to-night, once again to raise my voice in denunciation of the foul slanders which would put a single stain upon her fair limbs, and once more to fervently utter the prayer that the same principles which made her the most beautiful of the creations of God and man, may prevail in the future government of my country, and may bring to my fellow-countrymen everywhere, peace, prosperity and good will! But let the truth of history prevail, and each youth who first sees the light in this sunny clime will, wherever his wanderings may have carried him, proudly exclaim: "Thank God, I belong to the blood and lineage of the South."

# APPENDIX.

**Speech of Daniel Webster at Capon Springs, Va., June, 1851.**

Mr. Webster said:

Whatever may have been the differences of opinion which have heretofore existed between the Democratic and Whig parties on other subjects, they are now forgotten, or at least, have become subordinate; and the important question that is now asked is, Are you a union man? (Great applause.) The question at this time is the Union, and how we shall preserve its blessings for the present and for all time to come. To maintain that Union we must observe, in good faith, the Constitution and all its parts. If that Constitution be not observed in all its parts, but its provisions be deliberately and permanently set aside in some parts, the whole of it ceases to be binding; but the case must be clear, flagrant, undeniable, and in a point of vital interest. In short, it must be such as would justify revolution; for, after all, concession, disruption of the Union, or successful nullification are but other means for revolution. Where the whole system of laws and government is overthrown, under whatever name the thing is done, what is it but revolution? For it would be absurd to suppose that by whole States and large portions of the country, either the North or the South has the power or the right to violate any part of that Constitution, directly, and of purpose, and still claim from the other observance of its provisions. (Applause.) If the South were to violate any part of the Constitution, intentionally or systematically, and persist in doing so year after year, and no remedy could be had, would the North any longer be bound by the

rest of it? And if the North were deliberately, habitually, and of fixed purpose, to disregard one part of it, would the South be bound any longer to observe its other obligations? This is indeed to be understood with some qualification, for I do not mean, of course, that every violation by a State, of an article of the Constitution, would discharge other States from observing its provisions. No State can decide for itself what is constitutional and what is not. When any part of the Constitution is supposed to be violated by any State law, the true mode of proceeding is to bring the case before the judicial tribunals; and if the unconstitutionality of the State law be made out, it is to be set aside. This has been tried in repeated cases, and is the ordinary remedy. But what I mean to say is, that if the public men of a large portion of the country, and especially their representatives in Congress, labor to prevent, and do permanently prevent the passage of laws necessary to carry into effect a provision of the Constitution particularly intended for the benefit of another part of the country, and which is of the highest importance to it, it can not be expected that that part of the country will long continue to observe other constitutional provisions made in favor of the rest of the country; because, gentlemen, a disregard of constitutional duty in such a case can not be brought within the corrective authority of the judicial power. If large portions of public bodies, against their duty and their oaths, will persist in refusing to execute the Constitution, and do, in fact, prevent such execution, no remedy seems to lie by application to the Supreme Court. The case now before the country clearly exemplifies my meaning. Suppose the North to have decided majorities in Congress, and suppose these majorities persist in refusing to pass laws for carrying into effect the clause of the Constitution which declares that fugutive slaves shall be restored, it

would be evident that no judicial process could compel them to do their duty, and what remedy would the South have?

How absurd it is to suppose that when different parties enter in compact for certain purposes, either can disregard any one provision, and expect, nevertheless, the other to observe the rest! I intend, for one, to regard, and maintain, and carry out, to the fullest extent, the Constitution of the United States, which I have sworn to support in all its parts and all its provisions. (Loud cheers.) It is written in the Constitution:

"No person held to service or labor in one State under the laws thereof, escaping into another State, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due."

That is as much a part of the Constitution as any other, and as equally binding and obligatory as any other on all men, public or private. (Applause.) And who denies this? None but the abolitionists of the North. And pray what is it they will not deny? (Great applause and laughter.) They have but the one idea; and it would seem that these fanatics at the North and the secessionists of the South are putting their heads together to devise means to defeat the good designs of honest and patriotic men. They act to the same end and the same object, and the Constitution has to take the fire from both sides.

I have not hesitated to say, and I repeat, that if the Northern States refuse, willfully and deliberately, to carry into effect that part of the Constitution which respects the restoration of fugitive slaves, and Congress provide no remedy, the South would no longer be bound to observe the compact. (Immense applause.) A bargain can not be

broken on one side and still bind the other. I say to you gentlemen in Virginia, as I said on the shores of Lake Erie and in the city of Boston, as I may say again, in that city or elsewhere in the North, that you of the South have as much right to receive your fugitive slaves as the North has any of its rights and privileges of navigation and commerce. I desire to be understood here among you, and throughout the country, that in hopes, thoughts and feelings, I profess to be an American; altogether and nothing but an American. (Loud and continued cheering.) And that I am for the Constitution, and the whole Constitution. I am as ready to fight and fall for the constitutional rights of Virginia as I am for those of Massachusetts. I pour out to you, gentlemen, my whole heart, and I assure you that these are my sentiments. (Cheers.) I would no more see a feather plucked unjustly from the honor of Virginia, than I would see one so plucked from the honor of Massachusetts. (Great applause.) It has been said that I have, by the course I have thought proper to pursue, displeased a portion of the people of Massachusetts. That is true, and if I had dissatisfied more of them, what of that! (Great and continued applause.) I was in the Senate of the United States, and had sworn to support the Constitution of the United States. That Constitution made me a Senator of the United States, acting for all the States, and my vote was to bind the whole country. I was a senator for the whole country. (Applause.) What exclusive regard had I to pay to the wishes of Massachusetts upon a question affecting the whole nation, and in which my vote was to bind Virginia as well as Massachusetts? My vote was to affect the interests of the whole country, and was to be given on matters of high constitutional character. I assure you, gentlemen, I no more respected the instructions

of Massachusetts than I would have respected those of Virginia. It would be just as reasonable to expect me to vote as the particular interests of Massachusetts required, as it would be to expect that, as an arbitrator, a referee, or an umpire between two individuals, I was bound to obey the instructions of one of them. (Applause.) Could I do that? Have I descended, or am I expected to descend, to that level? (Cries of "Never, never! Your are not the man to do it!") I hope not.

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